FRANCE
PAINTED to the
LIFE.

By a Learned and Impartial Hand.

---*Quid non* Gallia *parturit ingens.*

The Second EDITION.

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Reader

TO THE

READER.

Hiſtories are like *Iewels*, not valued by their *bulk*, but their *beauty* and luſtre: Real *worth* exceeds *words*; yet this *Hiſtory* is furniſhed with both; tis rare for the *matter*, *method*, *truth* and *uſe*.

It needs no *Apologie*, its own *furniture* will ſufficiently praiſe it, eſpecially amongſt the *Ingenuous* and *Learned*; here is a ſolid and pleaſant *reliſhment* for any that deſire forrain rarities.

The Pen-man managed his time with *advantage*: And it may be ſaid, that a Judicious Reader may ſee

France

France in this Book as well as by travel. Nothing worthy observation hath escap'd the *Author*; what hath, was not worth his Pen. Thou hast (as it came to hand) without any *adulteration*, a true Copy of his *conceptions* and *labours* without addition or diminution. Take hereof a serious view, thereby thou shalt inform thy *judgement*, please thy *fancy*, and be rendred able to discourse of the several *places* and *passages* therein mentioned, equally with those who have in person *surveyed* them.

FRANCE

FRANCE
Painted to the Life.

The First Book.

The beginning of our Journey, the nature of the Sea, a Farewell to England.

ON Thursday the 18th of *June*, at the time when *England* had received the cheif beauty of *France*, and the *French* had seen the cheif beauties of *England*, we went to Sea in a Bark of *Dover*: The Port we arrived at *Diepe* in *Normandy*, the hour three in the afternoon: the wind fair and high, able, but

it continued in that point, to have given us a waftage as speedy as our longing. Two houres before night it came about to the Westward, and the tide also not befriending us, our passage became tedious and troublesome. The next day being dedicate to the glory of God, in memory of St. *Peter*, we took the benifit of the ebb to assist us against the wind. This brought us out of the sight of *England*, and the flood ensuing compelled us to our anchor.

I had now leisure to see *Gods wonders in the deep*, wonders indeed to us, which had never before seen them: but too much familiarity had made them none other than the Saylers play-fellows. The waves striving by an inbred ambition which shoul be the highest, which foremost: precedency and super-eminency was equally desired, and each enjoyed it in succession. The wind more covetous in appearance to play with the water than disturbe it, did onely rock the billow, and seemed indeed to dandle the Ocean. You would at another time have thought, that the Seas had onely danced at the Winds whistle, or that the Wind straining it self to a treble, and the Seas by a disdiapalon supplying the base, had tuned a Coranto to our Ship. For so orderly we rose and fell, according to the time and note of the billow, that her violent agitation might be thought to be nothing but a nimble Galliard filled with Capers. The nimblenels of the waves and correspondency of our Bark unto them was not to all our company alike pleasing: what in me moved onely a reverend and awful pleasure, was to others an occasion of sickness

their heads giddy, their joynts enfeebled, their ſtomacks loathing ſuſtenance, and with great pangs avoiding what they had taken in: their mouthes nothing ſo frequent, as that of *Horace*,

——— *Illi robur & as triplex*
Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
Commiſit pelago ratem.

Hard was his heart as braſs, which firſt did venture
In a weak Ship on the rough Seas to enter.

Whether it be that the noiſom ſmels which ariſe from the ſaltneſs and tartneſs of that Region of waters, poiſoneth the brain? or that the ungoverned and unequal motion of the Ship ſtirreth and unſettleth the ſtomack, or both? we may conjecture with the Philoſophers rather than determine. This I am ſure of, that the Cabbins and Deck were but as ſo many Hoſpitals or Peſt-houſes filled with diſeaſed perſons: whilſt I and the Mariners onely made good the hatches: here did I ſee the ſcaly Nation of that Kingdom ſolace themſelves in the brim of the waves, rejoycing in the light and warmneſs of the day, and yet ſpouting from their mouthes ſuch quantity of waters, as if they had purpoſed to quench that fire which gave it. They danced about our veſſel, as if ſhe had been a moving May-pole; and that with ſuch a delight for *decorum*, that you never ſaw a Meaſure better trodden with leſs art: And now I know not what wave bigger than the reſt toſſed up our Ship ſo high, that I once more ken'd the coaſt of *England*, an object

which took such hold on my senses, that I forgot the harmless company which sported below me, to bestow on my dearest Mother this (and for ought I could assure my self, my last) *Farewell.*

England *adieu: thy most unworthy Son*
Leaves thee, and grieves to see what he hath done;
What he hath done in leaving thee, the best
Of Mothers, and more glorious than the rest,
Thy sister Nations. Had'st thou been unkind:
Yet might he trust thee safer than the Wind.
Had'st thou been weak: yet far more strength in thee,
Than in two inches of a sinking Tree.
Say thou wert cruel? yet thy angry face
Has more love in it, then the Seas embrace.
Suppose thee poor! his zeal and love the less,
Thus to forsake his Mother in distress.
But thou art none of those: No want in thee,
Onely a needless Curiositie,
Hath made him leap thy Ditch. O let him have
Thy blessing in his Voyage, and hee'l crave
The Gods to thunder wrath on his neglect,
When he performs not thee all due respect:
That Nemesis *on him her scourge would pluck,*
When he forgets those breasts wich gave him suck:
That Nature would dissolve and turn him earth,
If thou bee'st not remembred in his Mirth.
May he be cast from Mankind, if he shame
To make profession of his Mothers name.
Rest then assur'd in this: though sometimes he,
Conceal'd perhaps his Faith, he will not thee.

CHAP.

Chap. I.

Normandy in general, the Name and bounds of it, The condition of the ancient Normans, *and of the present.* Orrelius *Character of them examined. In what they resemble the Inhabitants of* Norfolk. *The Commodities of it, and the Government.*

THe next ebb brought us in sight of the sea-coast of *Normandy*, a shoar so evenly composed and levelled, that it seemeth the work of Art not Nature. The Rock all the way of an equal height, rising from the bottom to the top in a perpendicular, and withal so smooth and polished, that if you dare beleive it the work of Nature, you must also think that Nature wrought it by the line, and shewed an art in it, above the imitation of an Artist; This wall is the Northern bound of this Province, the South part of it being confined with *Le-Maine la Beausse & l' Isle du France.* On the East it is divided from *Picardy* by the River of *Some*, and on the West it is bounded with the Ocean, and the little River *Cremon* which severeth it from a corner of *Britain.* It extendeth [illegible] from the beginning of the 9th degree of [illegible] to the middle of the 23. *viz.* from the [illegible] Saviour West, to the Port town of St. *Valerie* East. For breadth it lieth partly in the 49th partly in the 50th degree of latitude. So that reckoning 60. miles to a degree, we shall find it to contain 270.

English miles in length, and 60 English miles in breadth where it is narrowest.

Amongst the Nations it was accounted a part of *Gallia Celtica*; the name *Neustria*. This new title it got by receiving into it a new Nation. A people that had so terribly spoiled the Maritine Coasts of *England*, *France* and *Belgia*, that *a furore Normannorum* was inserted into the *Letany*. Originally they were of *Norway*, their name importeth it: *Anno* 800. or thereabouts they began first to be accounted one of the plagues of *Europe*: 900. they seated themselves in *France* by permission of *Charles* the *Balde*, and the valour of *Rollo* their Captain. Before this they had made themselves Masters of *Ireland*, though they long held it not, and *Anno* 1067. they added to the glory of their name by the Conquest of *England*. You would think them a people not onely born to the warrs, but to victory. But *Ut frugum semina mutato solo degenerant, sic illa genuina feritas eorum amenitate mollita est*. *Florus* spake it of the *Gaules* removed into *Asia*, it is applicable to the *Norwegians* transplanted into *Gallia*; yet fell they not suddenly and at once into the want of courage, which now possesseth them. During the time they continued *English*, they attempt the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Antioch* with a fortune answerable to their valour. Being once oppressed by the *French*, and inslaved under that Monarchy, they grew presently Cast fall'n, and at once lost both their spirits and their liberty.

The present *Norman* then is but the corruption of the ancient; the heir of his name, and perhaps his

his poſſeſſions; but neither of his ſtrength nor his manhood: Bondage and a fruitful ſoil hath ſo emaſculated them, that it is loſt labour to look for *Normans* in *Normandy*. There remaineth almoſt nothing in them of their Progenitors but the remainders of two qualities, and thoſe alſo degenerated, if not baſtards; a penurious pride, and ungoverned doggedneſs: Neither of them becoming their fortune or their habit, yet to thoſe they are conſtant. Finally, view him in his rags and dejected countenance, and you would ſwear it impoſſible, that thoſe ſnakes ſhould be the deſcendents of thoſe brave *Heroes* which ſo often triumphed over both Religions, foyling the *Saracens*, and vanquiſhing the *Chriſtians*.

But perchance their courage is evaporated into wit, and then the change made the better. *Ortelius* would ſeem to perſwade us to this conceit of them, and well might do it, if his words were Oracle. *Le Gens* (ſaith he, ſpeaking of this Nation) *ſont de plus accords, & ſubtills d'eſprit de la Gaule.* A Character for which the French will little thank him, who (if he ſpeak truth) muſt in matter of deſcretion give precedency to their vaſſals. But as *Imbat* a French Leader ſaid of the *Florentines* in the fifth book of *Guicciardine*, *Non ſapena donc confeſſe ſe lingeque tanto celebrare de Fiorentini*, ſo may I ſay of the *Normans*: for my part I could never yet find, where that great wit of theirs lay. Certainit is, that as the *French* in general are termed the *King's aſſes*: ſo may theſe men peculiarly be called the *Aſſes of the French*, or the veriеſt Aſſes of the reſt. For what with the unproportionable

rents which they pay to their Lords on the one side, and the immeasurable taxes laid upon them by the King on the other; they are kept in such a perpetuated course of drudgery, that there is no place for wit or wisdom left amongst them. Liberty is the Mother and Nurse of those two qualities; and therefore the *Romans* (not unhappily) expressed both the condition of a Free-man and a discreet and modest personage by this one word *Ingenuous*. Why the *French* King should lay a greater burden upon the backs of this Nation, than their fellows, I cannot determine. Perchance it is because they have been twice conquered by them (once from King *John*, and again from *Henry* the sixth) and therefore undergo a double servitude. It may be to abate their natural pride and stubbornness. Likely also it is, that being a revolting people, and apt to an apostasie from their Allegiance, they may by this meanes be kept impoverished, and by consequence disabled from such practises. This a French Gentleman of good understanding told me, that it was generally conceited in *France*, that the *Normans* would suddenly and unanimously betray their Country to the *English*, were their King a *Cath. like*.

But there is a further cause yet of their beggarliness and poverty, which is, the litigiousness and frequent going to law (as we call it:) *Ortelius*, however he failed in the first part of the Character, in the conclusion of it hath done them justice. *Mais en generall* (saith he) *ils sont scavans au passible en proffes & pluideries.* They are pretty well versed in the querks of the Law, and have wit more than enough to wrangle.

In this they agree exactly well with the Inhabitants of our Country of *Norfolke*. *Ex infima plebe non pauci reperiuntur* (saith Mr. *Cambden*) *qui, si nihil sit litium, lites tamen ex ipsis juris apicibus seu rere callent.* They are pretty fellows to find out quirks in Law, and to it they will, whatsoever it cost them. Mr. *Cambden* spake not at random, or by the guess: for besides what my self observed in them at my being once among them in a *Colledge progress*; I have heard, that there have been no less than 340. *Nisi prius's* tried there at one *Assizes*. The reason of this likeness between the two Nations, I conjecture to be, the resemblance of the site and the soyl: both lie upon the Sea, with a long and spacious coast, both enjoy a Country champain, little swell'd with hils, and for the most part, of a light and sandy mould. To proceed to more particulars, if there be any difference between the two Provinces, it is onely this, that the Country of *Normandy* is much better, and the people of *Norfolk* are somewhat therricher.

For indeed the Country of *Normandy* is enriched with a fat and liking soil, such a one, *quæ denum votis respondet avari Agricolæ*, which may satisfie the expectation of the Husbandman, were it never so exorbitant. In my life I never saw Corn-fields more large and lovely extended in an equal level, almost as far as eye-reach. The wheat (for I saw little Barley) of a fair length in the stalk, and so heavy in the ear, that it even bended double, you would think the grain had a desire to kiss the earth its Mother; or that it purposed by making it self away into the ground, to save the Plow-man his

next years labour. Thick it groweth, and so perfectly void of weeds, that no garden can be imagined to be kept cleaner by art, than these fields are by nature. Pasture ground it hath little, and less meadow: yet sufficient to nourish those few Cattel they have in it. In all the way between *Diepe* and *Pontois*, I saw but two flocks of Sheep, and those not above forty in a flock. Kine they have in some measure, but not fat, nor large: without these, there were no living for them. The Noblest eat the flesh, whiles the Farmer feeds on Butter and Cheese, and that but sparingly. But the miserable states of the *Norman paisans*, we will deferre till another opportunity. Swine also they have in pretty number, and some Pullen in their backsides, but of neither an excess. The principal Rivers of it is *Seine*, of which more hereafter, and besides this I saw two rivulets, *Robec* and *Renelle*.

In matter of civil Government this Country is directed by the Court of Parliament established at *Rovin*: for matters Military it hath an Officer like the Lieutenants of our Shires in *England*, the *Governour* they call him. The present Governour *Mounsieur Duc de Longueville*, to whom the charge of this province was committed by the present King *Lewis* the thirteenth *Anno* 1629. The Laws by which they are governed, are the *Civil* or *Imperial*, augmented by some customes of the *French*, and others more particular, which are the *Norman*. One of the principallest is in matters of inheritance: the French custom giving to all the Sons an equality in their estate, which we in *England*

land call *Gavel-kind.* The *Normans* dividing the eſtate into three parts, and thereof allotting two unto the eldeſt brother, and a third to be divided among the others. A Law which the *French* account not juſt, the younger brothers of *England* would think the contrary. To conclude this general diſcourſe of the *Normans*: I dare ſay it is as happy a Country as moſt in *Europe*, were it ſubject to the ſame Kings, and governed by the ſame Laws which it gave unto *England.*

Chap. II.

Diepe *the Town, ſtrength and importance of it: The policy of* Henry *the fourth not ſeconded by his Son: The cuſtom of the* Engliſh *Kings in placing Governours in their Forts: The breaden God there, and ſtrength of their Religion: Our paſſage from* Diepe *to* Roven: *The* Norman *Inns, Women and Manners: The importunity of Servants in hoſteries: The ſaucy familiarity of the attendants:* Ad pileum vocare, *What it was amongſt the* Romans, *and* jus pileorum *in the Univerſities of* England.

Upon the 30th at ſix of the cloek in the morning we landed at *Diepe*; one of the Haven Towns of *Normandy*, ſeated on an arm of the Sea, between two hils which imbrace it in the nature of a bay:

this

this secureth the Haven from the violence of the weather, and is a great strength to the Town against the attempts of any foster, which should assault it by Sea, the Town lying within the Mountains a quarter of a mile up the channel. The Town it self is not uncomely, the streets large and well paved, the houses of an indifferent height, and built upright without any jettings out of one part over the other. The Fortifications (as they say, for we were not permitted to see them) are very good and modern, without, stones, within, earth. On the top of the hill a Castle finely seated, both to defend the Town, and on occasions to command it. The Garrison consisteth of sixty men, in pay no more, but when need requireth the Captain hath authority to arm the Inhabitants: The present Governour is the Duke of *Longueville*, who also is the Governour of the Province, intrusted with both those charges by *Lewis* the thirteenth, 1619. An action wherein he swarved somewhat from the example of his Father, who never committed the military command of a Country (which is the Office of a Governour) and the custody of a Town of war or a Fortress unto one man. The Duke of *Biron* might have as great a courtesie from that King, as the most deserving of his subjects: he had stuck close to him in all his adversities, received many an honourable scar in his service, and indeed was *Fabius* and *Scipio*, both the sword and buckler of the *French Empire*. In a word, he might have said to his *Henry*, what *Silius* in *Tacitus* did to *Tiberius*. *Sanum militem in obsequio inesse, cum alii ad seditiones prolaberentur, neque*

que daraturum Tiberii imperium, si iis quoque Legionibus cupido novandi fuisset; yet when he became petitioner to the King for the Citadel of *Bourg*, seated on the confines of his Government of *Burgogne*, the King denied it. The reason was, because Governours of Provinces which commanded in chief ought not to have the command of places and fortresses within their Government: there was also another reason, and more enforcing, which was, that the petitioner was suspected to hold intelligence with the Duke of *Savoy* whose Town it was. The same *Henry* though he loved the Duke *Esperon* even to the envy of the Court, yet even to him also used he the same caution. Therefore when he had made him Governour of *Rochefoigne* and *Angoulmois*, he put also into his hands the Towns of *Mets* and *Boulogne*, places so remote from his seat of Government, and so distant one from the other, that they did rather distract his power than encrease it.

The Kings of *England* have been well, and for a long time, versed in this Maxime of State. Let *Kent* be one of our ensamples and *Hampshire* the other. In *Kent* at this time the *Lieutenant* (or as the *French* would call him) the *Governour* is the Earl of *Montgomery*; yet is *Dover* Castle in the hands of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and yet *Quinborough* in the custody of Sir *Edward Hobby*. Of which the one commandeth the Sea, and the other the *Thames* and the *Medway*. In *Hampshire* the *Lieutenant* is the Earl of *Southampton*, but the Government of the Town and Garrison of *Portsmouth* is intrusted to the Earl of *Pembroke*. Neither

ther is there any of the best Sconces or Block-houses on the shore side of the Country which is commanded by the Lieutenant.

But King *Lewis* now raigning in *France*, minded not his Fathers actions, when at the same time also he made his Confident *M. Luines* Governour of *Picardy*, and of the Town and Cittadel of *Amiens*. The time ensuing gave him an insight of that state-breach; for when the Dukes of *Espernon*, *Vendosme*, *Longueville*, *Mayenne* and *Nemours*, the Count of *Soisons* and others sided with the Queen Mother against the King; the Duke of *Longueville* strengthened this *Dieppe*, and had not peace suddenly followed, would have made good, maugre the Kings forces. A town it is of great importance, King *Henry* the fourth using it as his *Asylum*, or City of Refuge, when that League was hotest against him. For had he been further distressed, from hence might he have made an escape into *England*, and at this door was the entrance made for the English forces, which gave him the first step to his Throne. The Town hath been pillaged and taken by our *Richard* the first, in his warrs against *Philip Augustus*, and in the declining of our affairs in *France*, it was a moneth together besieged by the Duke of *York*, but with that success which commonly attendeth a falling Empire.

The number of the Inhabitants is about 30000. whereof 9000. and upwards are of the Religion, and have allowed them for the exercise of their Religion the Church of *Argues*, a Village some two miles distant. The Remainder are Papists. In this Town I met with the first Idolatry which ever

I yet

I yet saw, more than in my books. *Quas antea audiebam hodie, video Deos*, as a barbarous *German* in *Velleius* said to *Tiberius*. The Gods of *Rome* which before I onely heard of I now see, and might have worshipped, it was the *Host*, as they call it, or the Sacrament reserved, carried by a couple of Priests under a Canopy; ushered by two or three torches, and attended by a company of boyes & old people which had no other imployment. Before it, went a bell continually tinckling, at the sound whereof all such as are in their houses, being warned that then their God goeth by them, make some shew of reverence; those which meet it in the street, with bended knees and elevated heads doing it honour. The Protestants of this bell make an use more religious, and use it as a warning or a watch-peal, to avoid that street through which they hear it coming. This invention of the Bell hath somewhat of *Turcisme*, it being the custom there, at their Canonical hours, when they hear the cryers bawling in the steeples, to fall prostrate on the ground wheresoever they are, and to kiss it thrice, so doing their devotions to *Mahomet*. The carrying it about the streets hath no question in it a touch of the *Jew*: this Ceremony being borrowed from that of the carrying about the Ark upon the shoulders of the Priests. The other main part of it, which is the adoration, is derived from the Heathen, there never being a people but they which afforded divine honour to things inanimate. But the people indeed I cannot blame for this idolatrous devotion, their consciences being perswaded, that what they see pass by them is the very body of

their

their Saviour. For my part could the like belief poſſeſs my underſtanding, I could meet it with a greater reverence, then their charge can enjoyn me. The Prieſts and Doctors of the people are to be condemned onely, who impoſe and inforce this ſin upon their hearers, and doubtleſs there is a reward which attendeth them for it. Of ſtanding it is ſo young, that I never met with it before the year 1215. Then did Pope *Innocent* ordain in a Council holden at *Rome*, that there ſhould be a Pixe made to cover the Bread, and a Bell bought to be rung before it. The adoration of it was enjoyned by Pope *Honorius Anno Dom.* 1226. Both afterwards encreaſt by the new ſolemn Feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti* day by Pope *Urban* the fourth, *Anno* 1264. and confirmed for ever with multitudes of pardons in the Council of *Vienna* by *Clement* the third, *Anno* 1310. Such a punie is this great God of the Romans. *Lactantius* in his firſt book of Inſtitutions againſt the Gentiles taxeth the wiſe men of thoſe times of infinite ridiculouſneſs, who worſhipped *Jupiter* as a God, *Cum eundem tamen Saturno & Rheæ genitum confiterentur*, ſince themſelves ſo perfectly knew his original. As much I marvail at the impudency of the Romiſh Clergy, who will needs impoſe a new God upon their people, being ſo well acquainted with his cradle.

It is now time to go on in our journey to *Roven*. The Cart ſtayeth, and it is fit we were in it; Horſes we could get none for money, and for love we did not expect them: we are now mounted in our Chariot, for ſo we muſt call it. An Engliſh man thought it a plain Cart, and if it needs will

have

have the honour of being a Chariot, let it, sure I am it was never ordained for a triumph. At one end were fastened three carkasses of Horses, and three bodies which had been once Horses and now were worn to dead Images. Had the statue of a man been placed on any one of them, it might have been hang'd up at an Inn door to represent Saint *George* on horse-back: so liveless they were and so little moving; yet at last they began to crawl, for go they could not. This converted me from my former heresie, and made me apprehend life in them, but it was so little, that it seemed onely enough to carry them to the next pack of Hounds. Thus accomodated we bad Farewell to *Diepe*, and proceeded with a pace so slow, that we thought our journey to *Roven* would prove a most perfect Emblem of the motion of the ninth Sphere, which was 49000 years in finishing. But this was not our greatest misery: The rain fell on us through our Tilt, which for the many holes in it we would have thought a net. The durt brake plentifully in upon us through the rails of our Chariot, & the unequal and unpropottionable pace of it startled almost every bone of us. I protest I marvel how a French-man durst adventure in it. Thus endured we all the diseases of a journey, and the danger of three several deaths, drowning, choaking with the mire, and breaking of the wheel, besides a fear of being famished before we came to our Inn, which was six French miles from us. The mad Duke that in the Play undertook to drive two Snails from *Millaine* to *Musco*, without staffe, whip, or goad; and in a bravery to match him, for an experiment would

here have had matter to have tired his patience.

On the left hand we saw *Argues*, once famous for a siege laid about it by our *Richard* the first, but wasted speedily by the French. It is now (as before I told you) the Parish Church of *Diepe Protestants*, their Preachers were Mr. *Courteau* and Mr. *Mondeme*, who had each of them an yearly stipend, fifty pound or thereabouts. A poor pay, if the faithful discharge of that duty were not a reward unto it self above the value of gold and silver. To instance in none of these beggerly Villages we past through: we came at last unto *Tostes*, the place destinate to our Lodging, a Town like the worser sort of Market Towns in *England*. There our Charioter brought us to the ruines of an house, an Alehouse I would scarce have thought it, and yet in spite of my teeth it must be an Inn, yea, and that an honourable one too, as *Don Quixot's* Host told him. Despair of finding there either bedding or victuals, made me just like the fellow at the Gallows, who when he might have been repreived, on condition he would marry a Wench, which there sued for him, having veiwed well, cried to the Hangman to drive on his Cart. The truth is, *I'eschappay du tonnere et rencheu'en l'eſtair*, according to the French proverb; I fell out of the frying-pan into the hot fire. One of the house (a ragged fellow I am sure he was, and so most likely to live there) brought us to a room somewhat of kindred to a Charnel-house; as dark and as dampish: I confess it was paved with brick at the bottom, and had towards the Orchard a pretty hole, which in former

former times had been a window, but now the glass was all vanished. By the light that came in at the hole, I first perceived that I was not in *England*. There stood in the chamber three beds, if at the least it be lawful so to call them. The foundation of them was of straw, so infinitely thronged together, that the woolpack which our Judges sit on in the Parliament were melted butter to them; upon this lay a medley of flocks and feathers together, sowed up in a large bag (for I am confident it was not a Tick) but so ill ordered, that the knobs stuck out on each side of it, like a crabtree-cudgel. He must needs have flesh enough that lieth upon one of them; otherwise the second night would wear out his bones. The sheets which they brought for us were so course, that in my conscience no Mariner would vouchsafe to use them for a sail: and the Coverlid so bare, that if a man would undertake to reckon the threeds, he need not miss one of the number. The Napery of the Table was sutable to the bedding, so foul and durty, that I durst not conceive it had ever been washed above once, and yet the poor cloth looked as briskly, as if it had been promised for the whole year ensuing to scape many a scouring. The Napkins were fit companions for the cloath; *Unum si noveris, omnes nosti.* By my description of the Inn, you may guess at the rest of *France*. Not altogether so wretched, yet is the alteration almost insensible.

Let us now walk into the Kitchen, and observe their provision, and here we found a most terrible execution committed on the person of a Puller.

My Hoſteſs, cruel woman, had cut the throat of it, and without plucking off the feathers, tare it into pieces with her hands, and afterwards took away skin and feathers together, juſt as we ſtrip Rabbets in *England.* This done, it was clapt into a pan, and fried into a ſupper. In other places where we could get meat for the ſpit, it uſeth to be preſently broached, and laid perpendicularly over the fire: three turns at the moſt diſpatcheth it, and bringeth it up to the table, rather ſcorched than roaſted; I ſay, where we could get it, for in theſe raſcally Inns you cannot have what you would, but what you may, and that alſo not at the cheapeſt. At *Pontoiſe* we met with a Rabbet, and we thought we had found a great purchaſe. Larded it was, as all meat is in that Country, otherwiſe it is ſo lean, it would never endure the roaſting. In the eating it proved ſo tough, that I could not be perſwaded that it was any more than three removes from that Rabbet which was in the Ark. The price half a Crown Engliſh: My Companions thought it over dear, to me it ſeem'd very reaſonable, for certainly the graſs that fed it was worth more than thrice the money: but I return to *Toſtes.*

And it is time, you might perchance elſe have loſt the ſight of mine Hoſteſs and her Daughters, you would have ſworn at firſt bluſh they had been of a blood, and it had been great pitty, had it been otherwiſe. The ſalutation of *Horace, O mater pulchra, filia pulchrior*, was never ſo ſeaſonable as here. Not to honour them with a further character, let this ſuffice that their perſons kept ſo excellent *decorum* with the houſe and furniture, that one could

could not possibly make use of *Tullies*, *Quam dispari dominaris domino*! But this is not their luck onely. The Women not of *Normandy* alone, but generally of all *France* are forced to be contented with a little beauty; and she which with us is reckoned among the vulgar, would amongst them be taken for a Princess. But of the French Women more, when we have taken a view of the Dames of *Paris*, now onely somewhat of their habit and condition. Their habit in which they differ from the rest of *France*, is the attire of their heads, which hangeth down their backs in fashion of a vail. In *Roven* and the greater Cities, it is made of linnen pure and decent, here and in the villages it cannot possibly be any thing else than an old dish-clout turned out of service, or the corner of a table-cloth reserved from washing. Their best condition is not alwayes visible, they shew it onely in the mornings, or when you are ready to depart, and that is their begging. You shall have about you such a throng of these ill faces, and every one whining out this ditty, *Pour les servantes*; that one might with greater ease distribute a dole at a rich mans funeral, then give them a penny: Had you a purpose to give them unasked, their importunity will prevent your speediest bounty. After all this importunate begging, their ambition reacheth no higher than a *Sol*: He that giveth more out-biddeth their expectation, and shall be counted a spend-thrift.

But the principal ornaments of these times are the men-servants, the raggedst regiment that ever I yet looked upon. Such a thing as a Chamberlain

was never heard of among them, and good clothes are as little known there as he. By the habit of his attendants a man would think himself in Gaole, their clothes either full of patches, or else open to the skin. Bid one of them wipe your boots, he presently hath recourse to the curtains; with those he will perhaps rub over one side, and leave the other to be made clean by the Guest. It is enough for him that he hath written the coppy. They wait alwayes with their hats on their heads, and so also do servants before their Masters: Attending-bare-headed is as much out of fashion there as in *Turkey*. Of all *French* fashions in my opinion the most unfitting and unseeming. Time and much use reconciled me to all other things, which at the first were offensive, to this irreverent custom I returned an enemy. Neither can I see how it can choose but stomack the most patient, to see the worthiest sign of liberty usurped and profaned by the basest of slaves. For seeing that the French paisants are such infamous slaves unto their Lords and Princes; it cannot be, but that those which are their servants must be one degree at the least below the lowest condition.

Certainly among the Ancients this promiscuous covering of the head was never heard of, it was with them the chief sign of freedom, as is well known to those which are conversant with antiquity. The *Lacones* a people of *Peloponnesus*, after they had obtained to be made free Denizens of *Lacedæmon*, in sign of their now gotten liberty would never go into the battel, *nisi pileati*, but with their hats on. Amongst the *Africans*, as it is written

of

of *Alexander*, *ab Alexandro*, the placing of an hat on the top of a ſpear, was uſed as a token to incite the people to their liberty which had been oppreſſed by *Tyrants*: *Per pileum in haſtâ propoſitum ad libertatem proclamari.* But among the *Romans* we have more variety. The taking off the hat of *Tarquinius Priſcus* by an Eagle, and the putting of it on again, occaſioned the *Augures* to propheſie unto him the Kingdom; which fell out accordingly. In their Sword-playes when one of their *Gladiators* had with credit ſlain his adverſary, they would ſometimes honour him with a *Palm*, ſometimes with a Hat, of theſe the laſt was the worthier; the Palm onely honouring the Victor; this alſo enfranchiſing the receiver; therefore conferred commonly on him which killed moſt men in the Theaters: Hence the complaint of *Tertullian lib. de Spectaculis cap.* 21. *Qui inſigniore cuiquam homicidæ leonem poſcit, idem gladiatori atroci Rudem petat* (*Rudis* was another token of enfranchizement) *& pileum præmium conferat.* In their common *Forum* or *Guild-Hall*, when they purpoſed to manumit any of their ſervants, their cuſtom alſo was, after the *Lictor* or *Sergeant* had regiſtred the name of the party manumitted, to ſhave his head, and give him a cap, whence according to *Roſinus*, *ad pileum Vocare*, is to ſet one at liberty.

Eraſmus in his *Chiliades* maketh the hat to be the ſign of ſome eminent worth in him that weareth it. *Pileus* (ſaith he) *inſigne ſpectatæ virtutis.* On this he conjectureth, that the putting on of caps on the heads of ſuch as are created *Doctors*

or *Masters* had its original. In the Universities of *England* this custom is still in force, the putting on of the Cap being never performed but on the solemn *Comitia*, and in the presence of all such as are either auditors or spectators of that dayes exercise; When I was *Regent*, the whole house of *Congregation* joyned together in a petition to the Earl of *Pembroke*, to restore unto us the *jus pileorum*, the licence of putting on our caps at our publike meetings, which priviledge time and the tyranny of our *Vice-Chancellors* had taken from us. Amongst other motives we used the solemn form of creating a Mr. in the *Arts* by putting on his cap, and that that sign of liberty might distinguish us that were the *Regents* from those boyes which we were to govern: which request he graciously granted. But this *French* saucinesse had drawn me out of my way. An impudent familiarity, which I must confess did much offend me, and to which I will still profess my self an open enemy. Though *Jack* speach *French*, I cannot endure that *Jack* should be a Gentleman.

Chap. III.

Roven *a neat City: how seated and built. The strength of it. St.* Katherines *Mount. The Church of* Nostre-dame, &c. *The Indecorum of the Papists in the several and unsutable pictures of the* Virgin. *The little Chappel of the* Capuchins *in* Boulogne. *The*

The House of Parliament. The precedency of the President and Governour. The Legend of St. Romain, *and the priviledge thence arising. The Language and Religion of the* Rhothomagenses.

IUly the first we set out for *Roven*; in ten hours our Cart dragged us thither, the whole journey being in all six miles *French*; admirable speed. About three of the clock in the afternoon we had a sight of the Town, daintily seated in a valley on the River *Seine*: I know not any Town better scituated (*Oxford* excepted) which indeed it much resembleth, I mean not in bigness but in scituation. It standeth on all sides environed with Mountains, the North excepted, and hath a large and pleasant walk of meadow by the river side, to the South-Eastward, as *Oxford* hath towards *Iffley*. It is seated on the principal River of *France*, distant from the *Metropolis* of that Countrey fifty miles English or thereabouts; as *Oxford* on the *Thames* and from *London*: watered also it is with two small Rillets, *Rose* and *Renelle*, as the other with *Charwell* and *Evenlode*. The difference is, that *Oxford* is seated somewhat higher on the swelling of an hill, and a little more removed from those mountains which environ it, and that the Rivers which run through some part of *Roven*, do onely wash the precincts of the other. The buildings are in some places wood, in some stone, in others both. The houses without juttings or overlets four stories high, and in the front not very beautiful. The

most

moſt promiſing houſe which mine eyes met with was that of Mr. *Boniface*, who being of obſcure parents; and having raiſed himſelf a fortune in the wars againſt the *League*, here built a receptacle for his age. It is faſhioned after the manner of new buildings in *London*, compoſed all of dainty white ſtone, ſquare and poliſhed. On the partition betwixt the firſt ſtory and the ſecond it hath theſe words engraven, *Ut & Virtute Martis opus; Tentanda via amore & armis.* A Motto ſutable to his riſing.

The other buildings of note are the *Bridge* (for I as yet omit the Houſe of Parliament and the Churches) and the Town wall by it. The Bridge whilſt it was all ſtanding, was thought to have been the faireſt and ſtrongeſt piece of that kind in all *France*, it conſiſted of twelve arches large and high, there now remain but ſeven of them, the reſt being broken down by the Engliſh, in the falling of their affairs in *France*, the better to make good the Town againſt the French. The River is here about the breadth of the *Thames* at *Fullham*. Between the River and the Town wall is the *Exchange* or meeting place of the Merchants, paved with broad and even pebble-ſtones; in breadth up to the wallwards thirty yeards, in length a hundred. A fine walk in fair weather. All along the bankſide lay the Ships, which by reaſon of the broken bridge come up hither, and on occaſion higher; a good turn for *Paris*. The wall for the length of an hundred yeards is as ſtreight as one may lay a line; of a juſt height, and compoſed of ſquare and excellent ſtone ſo cunningly laid, that I never

ſaw

saw the side of a Noble mans house built more handsomly. But it is not onely the beauty of the wall which *Roven* delighteth in, there must somewhat also be expected of it for strength. To which purpose it might seem indifferently well, were there some addition of earth within it. It is well helped on the outside by the breadth and depth of the ditches, but more by St. *Katharines* Fort seated on an hill at the East side of it. A Fort which, were it strengthned according to the modern art of fortifying, would much assure the Town, and make it at once both a slave and a Commander. The *Marshal* D'c *Anere*, when he was Lieutenant here for the *Queen-Mother*, began to fortifie this Mountain, *Quillebeuse* and other places of importance; but upon his death they were all razed. What were his Projects in it, they know best which were acquainted with his ambition. Certainly the jarrs which he had sown among the Princes, one with the other, and between them and the King, shew that they were not intended for nothing.

There are in *Roven* thirty two Parish Churches, besides those which belong to *Abbeys* and *Religious* Houses; of which the most beautiful is that of St. *Audoen* or *Owen*, once Arch-bishop of this City. The seat and Church of the Arch-bishop is that of *Nostredame*, a building far more gorgeous in the outside than within. It presents it self to you with a very gracious and majestical front, decked with most curious imagery, and adorned with three stately Towers. The first called *La tour St. Romain*; the second *La tour de beaurre* (because it

was

was built with that money which was raised by Cardinal *D' Amboyse*, for granting a dispensation to eat butter in the *Lent*) and a third built over the Porch, or great Door, wherein is the great Bell so much talked of: Within it is but plain and ordinary, such as common Cathedral Churches usually are, so big, so fashioned. Behind the high Altar at a pillar on the left hand is the remainder of the Duke of *Bedford*'s Tomb, which for ought I could discern was nothing but an Epitaph, some three yeards high in the Pillar. I saw nothing in it, which might move the envy of any Courtier to have it defaced, unless it were the title of *Regent du Royaume de France*, which is the least he merited.

Somewhat Eastward beyond this is our *Ladies Chappel*, a pretty neat piece, and daintily set out. There standeth on the top of the Screen the Image of the *Virgin* her self between two Angels. They have attired her in a red Mantle laced with two gold laces, a handsom ruffe about her neck, a vail of fine lawn hanging down her back, and (to shew that she was the Queen of Heaven) a Crown upon her head. In her left arm she holds her Son in his side coat, a black hat and a golden hat-band. A jolly plump Lady she seemeth to be, of a flaxen hair, a ruddy lip, and a chearful complexion. 'Twere well the Painters would agree about the limming of her; otherwise we are like to have as many Ladies as Churches. At *Nostre dame* in *Paris* she is taught us to be brown, and seemeth somewhat inclin'd to melancholy, I speak not of her different habit, for I envy her not her changes

of

of apparel. Onely I could not but obſerve how thoſe of St. *Sepulchres Church en la rue St. Denis*, hath placed her on the top of their Screen in a Coape, as if ſhe had taken on her the zeal of *Abraham*, and were going to make a bloudy ſacrifice of her Son. They of *Noſtre-dame in Amiens* have erected her Statue all in gold, with her Son alſo of the ſame mettal in her arms, caſting beams of gold round about her, as the Sun is painted in its full glory. Strange Idolatries! On the contrary, in the pariſh Church of *Tury in la Beauſſe* ſhe is to be ſeen in a plain petticoat of red, and her other garments correſpondent. In my mind this holdeth moſt proportion to her eſtate, and will but ſerve to free their irreligion from an abſurdity. If they will worſhip her as a Nurſe with her Child in her arms, or at her breaſt, let them array her in ſuch apparel as might beſeem a Carpenters Wife, ſuch as ſhe might be ſuppoſed to have worn before the world had taken notice that ſhe was the Mother of her Saviour. If they muſt needs have her in her eſtate of glory, as at *Amiens*; or of honour (being now publikely acknowledged to be the bleſſedneſs among Women) as at *Paris*: let them disburden her of her Child. To clap them thus both together, is a folly equally worthy of ſcorn & laughter. Certainly had ſhe but ſo much liberty as to make choice of her own clothes, I doubt not but ſhe would obſerve a greater *decorum*. And therefore I commend the Capouchins of *Boulogne*, who in a little ſide Chappel conſecrated unto her, have placed onely an handſom fair looking-glaſs upon her Altar, the beſt ornament of a Female-Cloſet.

Why

Why they placed it there I cannot say: onely I conceive it was, that she might there see how to dress her self.

This Church is said to have been built (I should rather think repaired) by *Raoul* or *Rollo* the first Duke of *Normandy*: Since it hath been much beautified by the English, when they were Lords of this province. It is the seat of an Arch-bishop, a Dean and fifty Canons. The Arch-bishopriek was instituted by the authority of *Constantine* the Great, during the sitting of the Council of *Arles*; *Anidian* who was there present being consecrated the first Arch-bishop. The Bishops of Seas, *Abrenches*, *Constances*, *Beaux*, *Lysieux* and *Evreux*, were appointed for his Dioceans. The now Arch-bishop is said to be an able Schollar and a sound States-man; his name I enquired not. The Revenues of his Chair are said to be ten thousand Crowns. More they would amount to, were the Country any way fruitful of Vines: out of which the other Prelates of *France* draw no small part of their *Intrade*.

The Parliament of this Country was established here by *Lewis* the twelfth, who also built that fair Palace, wherein Justice is administred, *Anno* 1501. At that time he divided *Normandy* into seven *Cathes*, *Rapes*, or *Balimicks*, viz. *Roven*, *Caux*, *Constentin*, *Caen*, *Evreux*, *Gisors*, and *Alenzon*. This Court hath supreme power to enquire into, and give sentence of all causes within the limits of *Normandy*. It receiveth appeals from the inferiour Courts of the Dutchy unto it, but admitteth none from it. Here is also *Cour des Estens*, a Court of

of the general Commissioners for taxes: and *la Chambre des aides*, instituted by *Charles* the seventh for the receiving of his subsidies, *Gabels*, *Impostes*, &c. The house of Parliament is in form *quadrangular*, a very grateful and delectable building. That of *Paris* is but a *Chaos* or a *Babel* to it. In the great Hall (into which you ascend by some thirty steps or upwards) are the seats and desks of the *Procurators*, every ones name being written in Capital letters over his head. These Procurators are like our Attourneys, to prepare causes, and make them ready for the *Advocates*. In this Hall do suitors use, either to attend, or walk up and down and confer with their pleaders. Within this Hall is the great Chamber, the Tribunal or Seat of Justice, both in Causes Criminal and Civil.

At domus interior regali splendida luxu
Instruitur.

As *Virgil* of *Queen Dido's* dining room.

A Chamber so gallantly and richly built, that I must confess it far surpasseth all the rooms that ever I saw in my life. The Palace of the *Lou're* hath nothing in it comparable. The seiling all inlaid with gold, and yet did the workmanship exceed the matter. This Court consisteth of two Presidents, twenty Counsellors or Assistants, and as many Advocates as the Court will admit of. The prime President is termed Mr. *De Riz.* by birth a *Norman*: upon the Bench and in all the places of his Court he taketh precedency of the Duke of *Longueville*. When there is a Convention of the three

three estates summoned the Duke hath the priority.

We said even now, that from the sentence of this Court there lay no appeal: but this must be recanted, and it is no shame to do it. St. *Austin* hath writ his *Retractions*; so also hath *Bellarmine*. Once in the year there is an appeal admitted; but for one man onely, and that on this occasion. There was a poysonous Dragon not far from *Roven*, which had done much harm to the Country and City. Many wayes had been tried to destroy him, but none prospered. At last *Roman*, afterwards made a St. then Arch-bishop of the Town, accompanied with a theif and a murderer, whose lives had been forfeited to a sentence, undertaketh the enterprise. Upon sight of the Dragon the theif stole away, the murderer goeth in and seeth that holy man vanquish the Serpent, armed onely with a *Stoale* (it is a neck habit sanctified by his holiness of *Rome*, and made much after the fashion of a tippet) with this *Stoale* tyed about the neck of the Dragon doth the murderer lead him prisoner to *Roven*. To make short work; the Name of God is praised, the Bishop magnified, the murderer pardoned, and the Dragon burned. This accident (if the story be not *Apocrypha*) is said to have happened on *Holy Thursday*. *Audom* or *Owen* successor unto St. *Roman*, in memory of this marvellous act, obtained of King *Dagobert* the first (he began his raign *Anno* 632.) that from that time forwards the Chapter of the Cathedral Church should on every *Ascension* day have the faculty of delivering any Malefactor whom the Laws had condemned.

This

This that King then granted; and all the following Kings to this time have ſucceſſively confirmed it. I omit the ceremonies and ſolemnities wherewith this Priſoner is taken out of his Irons and reſtored to liberty. It is not above nine years agone, ſince a Baron of *Gaſcoyne* took occaſion to kill his Wife; which done, he fled hither into *Normandy*; and having firſt acquainted the Canons of *Noſtre-dame* with his deſire, put himſelf to the ſentence of the Court, and was adjudged to the *Wheele*. *Aſcenſion* day immediately comming on, the Canons challenged him, and the Judge, according to the cuſtom, cauſed him to be delivered. But the *Normans* pleaded, that the benefit of that priviledge belonged onely to the Natives of that Country, and they pleaded with ſuch fury, that the Baron was again committed to priſon, till the *Queen Mother* had wooed the people, *pro eâ ſaltem vice*, to admit of his repreival.

I deferred to ſpeak of the language of *Normandy*, till I came hither, becauſe here it is beſt ſpoken. It differeth from the *Pariſian*, and more elegant French, almoſt as much as the Engliſh ſpoken in the *North* doth from that of *London* or *Oxford*. Some of the old *Norman* words it ſtill retaineth, but not many. It is much altered from what it was in the time of the Conqueror: few of the words in which our Laws were written being known by them. One of our company gave a *Littletons tenures* written in that language to a *French Doctor* in the Laws, who proteſted that in three lines he could not underſtand three words of it. The religion in this Town is indifferently poyſed;

as it is also in most places of this *Province*. The *Protestants* are thought to be as great a party as the other, but far weaker: the Duke of *Longueville* having disarmed them in the beginning of the last troubles.

CHAP. IV.

Our journey between Roven *and* Pontoise; *the holy man of St.* Claire, *and the Pilgrims thither. My sorceries.* Mante, Pontoise, Normandy *justly taken from K.* John. *The end of this Book.*

IVly the second we took our farewell of *Roven*; better accommodated than when we came thither; yet not so well as I desired. We are now preferred, *ab asino ad equum*, from the Cart to the Waggon. The *French* call it a *Coach*, but that matters not; so would they needs have the Cart to be Chariot. These Waggons are ordinary instruments of travel in those Countries, much of kin to a *Gravs-end Barge*: you shall hardly find them without a knave or a *Civet*. A man may be sure to be merry in them, were he as certain of being wholesome. This in which we travelled contained ten persons, as all of them commonly do: and amongst these ten, one might have found *English*, *Scots*, *French*, *Normans*, *Dutch*, and *Italians*; a jolly medley; had our religions been as different as our Nations, I should have thought my self in

Amsterdam,

Amsterdam, or *Poland*. If a man had desired to have seen a brief or an *Epitome* of the world, he could no where have received such satisfaction, as by looking on us. I have already reckoned up the several nations, I will now lay open the several conditions. There were then to be found among these passengers Men and Women, Lords and Servingmen, Schollars and Clowns, Ladies and Chambermaids, Priests and Lay-men, Gentlemen and Artificers, people of all sexes, and almost of all ages. If all the learning in the world were lost, it might be found in *Plutarch*; so said *Budeus*. If all the Nations in the world had been lost, they might have been found again in our Waggon, so I: Seriously I think our Coach to have been no unfit representation of the Ark, a whole world of men and languages might have grown out of it.

But all this while our Waggon joggeth on, but so leasurely, that it gave me leave to take a more patient view of the Country then we could in the Cart. And here indeed I saw sufficient to affect the Country, yea to dote on it; had I not come out of *England*. The fields such as already I have described: every where beset with Apple-trees, and fruits of the like nature: you could scarce see any thing which was barren in the whole Country. These Apples are both meat and drink to the poor Peasant, for the Country is ill provided with vines, (the onely want I could observe in it) and Beer is a good beverage at a Gentlemans table. Sider then or Perry are the poor mans Clarret; and happy man is he, which can once or twice in a week aspire so high above water. To proceed:

Through many a miſerable Village (*Duburgs* they call them) and one Town ſomewhat bigger then the reſt, called *Ecquille*, we came that night to St. *Claire*, ten French miles from *Roven*. A poor Town, God wot, and had nothing in it remarkable, but an accident. There dwelt a Monk grown into great opinion for his ſanctity; and one who had an eſpecial hand on ſore eyes: yet his ability herein was not general, none being capable of cure from him, but pure Virgins. I perſwade my ſelf *France* could not yeild him many Patients: and yet from all parts he was much ſought unto. Hope of cure, and a charitable opinion which they had of themſelves, had brought unto him divers diſtreſſed Damſels, which I am confident had no intereſt in his miracle. In the ſame Inn (Alehouſe I ſhould ſay) where we were to be harboured, there had put in a whole covey of theſe Ladies Errant. Pilgrims they called themſelves, and had come on foot two dayes journey to clear their eye-ſight. They had white vails hanging down their backs, which in part covered their faces, yet I perceived by a glimpſe, that ſome of them were paſt cure: though my charity durſt allow them Maids, it was afraid to ſuppoſe them Virgins: yet ſo far I dare aſſure them they ſhould recover their ſight, that when they came home they ſhould ſee their folly. At that time, what with too much watching on ſhip-board, what with the tartneſs of the water, and the violence of the wind working upon me almoſt forty hours together whilſt I lay on the hatches, mine eyes had gotten a rheum and redneſs. My Hoſteſs (good woman) perſwaded

me

me to this holy and bleſſed Wight; but I durſt not venture; not that I had not as good a claim to my virginity as the beſt there; but becauſe I had learned what a greivous ſentence was denounced on *Ahaziah* King of *Iſrael* for ſeeking help of *Beelzebub* the God of *Ekron*: When I hap to be ill, let mine amendment come in God's Name. *Mallem ſemper profanus eſſe, quàm ſic religioſus*, as *Minutius Felix* of the *Roman* Sacrifices: let my body ſtill be troubled with a ſore eye, then have ſuch a recovery be a perpetual eye-ſore to my conſcience. Rather than go on pilgrimage to ſuch a Saint, let the *Papiſts* count me for an Heretick. Beſides, how durſt I imagine in him an ability of curing my bodily eyes, who above ſeventy years had been troubled with a blindneſs in the eyes of his ſoul. *Thou Fool* (ſaid our Saviour almoſt in the like caſe) *firſt caſt out the beam of thine own eye, and then ſhalt thou ſee clearly to caſt the mote out of thy brothers eye.*

The next morning, *Auguſt* the third, I left my Pilgrims to try their fortunes, and went on in our journey to *Paris*, which that day we were to viſit. My eyes not permitting me to read, and mine ears altogether ſtrangers to the French chat, drave my thoughts back to *Roven*; and there nothing ſo much poſſeſſed me, as the ſmall honour done to *Bedford* in his Monument. I had leiſure enough to provide him a longer Epitaph; and a ſhort apology againſt the envy of that Courtier which perſwaded *Charles* the eighth to deface the ruines of his Sepulcher, Thus:

So did the Fox, the coward'st of the Heard,
Kick the dead Lion and profane his Beard.
So did the Greeks about their vanquisht Hoast
Drag Hector's Reliques, and torment his Ghost.
So did the Parthian slaves deride the head
Of the great Crassus, now betray'd and dead:
To whose victorious Sword, not long before,
They would have sacrific'd their lives, or more.
So do the French assault dead Bedford's spright,
And trample on his ashes in despite.
But foolish Curio cease, and do not blame
So small an honour done unto his Name,
Why griev'st thou him a Sepulcher to have,
Who when he liv'd had made all France a Grave!
His Sword triumph'd through all those Towns which
In the Ile, Main, Anjou, Guyen Normandy. (lie
Thy Fathers felt it. Oh thou worst of men
(If Man thou art) do not endeavour then
This Conqueror from his last Hold to thrust;
Whom all brave minds shall honour in the dust.
But be not troubled Bedford! Thou shalt stand
Above the reach of malice: Though the hand
Of a French baseness may deface thy name,
And tear it from thy Marble: Yet shall Fame
Speak lowdly of thee and thy acts. Thy praise
A Pyramis unto it self shall raise.
Thy brave Atchievements in the time to come
Shall be a Monument above a Tombe.
Thy name shall be thy Epitaph: and he
Which once reads Bedford shall imagine thee
Beyond the power of Verses; and shall say,
None could express thy Worth's a fuller way,

Rest

Rest thou then quiet in the shades of Night,
Nor vex thy self with Curio's *weaker spright:*
Whilst France *remains, and Histories are writ,*
Bedford *shall live, and* France *shall Chronicle it.*

Having offered this unworthy, yet grateful sacrifice to the Manes of that brave *Hero*, I had the more leisure to behold *Mante*, and the Vines about it, being the first that ever I saw. They are planted like our Hop-gardens, and grow up by the help of Poles, but not so high. They are kept with little cost: and yeild profit to an Husbandman sufficient to make him rich, had he neither King nor Landlord. The Wine which is pressed out of them is harsh and not pleasing; as much differing in sweetness from the Wines of *Paris* or *Orleans*, as their language doth in elegancy. The rest of the Norman Wines which are not very frequent, as growing onely on the frontiers towards *France*, are of the same quality. As for the Town of *Mante* it seemeth to have been of good strength before the use of great Ordinance; having a wall, a competent ditch, and at every gate a Drawbridge. They are still sufficient to guard their pullen from the Fox; and in the night time to secure their houses from forrain burglaries: Once indeed they were able to make resistance to a King of *France*, but the *English* were then within it: At last on honourable terms it yeilded, and was entred by *Charles* the seventh the second of *August*, *Anno* 1449. The Town is for building and bigness somewhat above the better sort of Market Towns here in *England*.

The laſt Town of *Normandy* towards *Paris* is *Pontoiſe*; a Town well fortified, as being a borderer, and one of the ſtrongeſt bulwarks againſt *France*. It hath in it two fair Abbeys of *Maubuiſſon* and St. *Martin*: ſix Churches parochial, whereof that of *Noſtre-dame* in the ſuburbs is moſt beautiful. The name it derives from a bridge built over the River of *Oyſe*, on which it is ſcituated, and by which on that ſide it is well defended: the bridge being ſtrengthened with a ſtrong gate, and two draw-bridges. It is commodiouſly ſcituate on the riſing of an hill; and is famous for the ſiege laid before it by *Charles* the ſeventh, *Anno* 1442. but more fortunate unto him in the taking of it. For having raiſed his armes upon the Duke of *Yorkes* coming to give him battel with 6000. men onely, the French Army conſiſting of double the number, he retired, or fled rather, unto St. *Denis*. But there hearing how ſcandalous his retreat was to the *Pariſians*, even ready to mutiny; and that the Duke of *Orleance*, and others of the Princes, ſtirred with the ignominiouſneſs of his flight, began to practiſe againſt him; he ſpeedily returneth to *Pontoiſe* and maketh himſelf Maſter of it by aſſault. Certainly to that fright he owed the getting of the Town, and all *Normandy*: the *French* by that door making their entry into this Province; out of which at laſt they thruſt the *Engliſh*, *Anno* 1450. So deſperate a thing is a frighted Coward.

This Country had once before been in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*: and that by a firmer title than the Sword. *William* the *Conqueror* had conveyed

it

it once over the Seas into *England*, & it continued an appendix of that Crown from the year 1067. unto that of 1204. At that time *John* called *Sáns terre*, third Son unto King *Henry* the second, having usurped the States of *England*, and the *English* possessions in *France* upon *Arthur* heir of *Britain*, and Son unto *Geofrey* his elder brother; was warred on by *Phillip Augustus* King of *France*, who sided with the said *Arthur*. In the end *Arthur* was taken, and not long after found dead in the ditches of the Castle of *Roven*. Whether this violent death happened unto him by the practises of his Uncle, as the *French* say, or that the young Prince came to that unfortunate end in an attempt to escape, as the *English* report, is not yet determined. For my part considering the other carriages and virulencies of that King; I dare be of that opinion, that the death of *Arthur* was not without his contrivement. Certainly he that rebelled against his Father, and practised the eternal imprisonment and ruine of his Brother, would not much stick (this being so speedy a way to settle his affairs) at the murther of a Nephew. Upon the first bruit of this murther, *Constance* Mother to the young Prince, complained unto the King and Parliament of *France*; not the Court which now is in force, consisting of men only of the long Robe: but the Court of *Pairrie*, or twelve Peers, whereof himself was one as Duke of *Normandy*. I see not how in justice *Philip* could do less than summon him: an Homager being slain, and an Homager accused. To this summons *John* refused to yeild himself. A counsel rather magnanimous than wise,

and

and such as had more in it of an English King than a French Subject. *Edward* the third a Prince of a finer mettal than this *John* obeyed the like warrant and performed a personal homage to *Philip* of *Valoys*: and it is not reckoned among his disparagements. He committed yet a further error or solæcisme in State, not so much as sending any of his people to supply his place, or plead his cause. Upon this none appearance the Peers proceed to sentence. *Il fut par Arrest la dite Cour* (saith Du' *Chesne*) *condemne pour attaint, et convainne du crime de parricide, & de felonnie*: parricide for the killing of his own Nephew, and felony for committing an act so execrable on the person of a French vassal and in *France*. *Jhon de Sieues* addeth a third cause, which was contempt in disobeying the Kings commandement. Upon this verdict the Court awarded; *Que toutes les terres qu' il avoit par deca de mourerient acquises & confisques a la corronne, &c.* A proceeding so fair and orderly, that I should sooner accuse King *John* of indiscretion, than the *French* of injustice: when my estate or life is in danger, I wish it may have no more sinister a trial. The *English* thus outed of *Normandy* by the weakness of *John*, recovered it again by the puissance of *Henry*. But being held onely by the sword; it was after thirty years recovered again as I have told you. And now being passed over the *Oyse*, I have at once freed the *English* and my self of *Normandy*, here ending this Book, but not that dayes journey.

The

The Second Book, or FRANCE.

CHAP. I.

France in what ſenſe ſo called; the bounds of it: All old Gallia *not poſſeſſed by the* French. *Countries follow the name of the moſt predominant Nation. The condition of the preſent* French *not different from that of the old* Gaules. *That the Heavens have a conſtant power upon the ſame Climate, though the Inhabitants be changed. The quality of the* French *in private, at the Church, and at the Table. Their Language, Complements, Diſcourſe, &c.*

JULY the third, which was the day we ſet out of *St. Claire*, having paſſed through *Pontoiſe*, and croſſed the River, we were entred into *France*: *France* as it is underſtood in his limitted ſenſe, and as a part onely of the whole. For when *Merovæus* the Grandchild of *Pharamond*, firſt King of the *Francones*, had taken an opportunity to paſs the *Rhene*, having alſo during the warres between the *Romans* and the *Gothes* taken *Paris*; he reſolved

ved there to set up his rest: and to make that the head City of his *Empire*. The Country round about it, which was of no large extent, he commanded to be called *Francia*, or *Terra Francorum*, after the name of his *Francks* whom he governed. In this bounded and restrained sense, we now take it, being confined with *Normandy* on the North, *Campagne* on the East, and on the West and South with the little Province of *la Beausse*. It is also called, and that more properly, to distinguish it from the whole continent, the *Isle of France*, and κατ' ἐξοχὴν *the Isle*; I know not any thing more like it, then the *Isle of Elie*: the *Eure* on the West, the *Velle* on the East, the *Oyse* on the Northward, and a vein riveret of the *Seine* towards the South, are the Rivers which encircle it. But the principall environings are made by the *Seine*, and the *Marne*, a river of *Champagne*, which within the main *Island*, make divers *Ilets*: the waters winding up and down, as desirous to recreate the earth, with the pleasures of its lovely and delicious embraces.

This *Isle*, this portion of *Gaule* properly and limitedly stiled *France*, was the seate of the *Franks*, at their first coming hither; and hath still continued so. The rest of *Gallia* is in effect rather subdued by the *French* than inhabited; their valour in time having taken in those Countries which they never planted. So that if we look apprehensively into *Gaule*, we shall find the other *Nations* of it, to have just cause to take up the complaint of the King of *Portugal*, against *Ferdinand* of *Castile*, for assuming to himself the title of *Catholique*

tholique King of Spain, eius tam non exiguâ parte penes reges alios, as *Mariana* relateth it. Certain it is, that the leaſt part of *old Gallia*, is in the hands of the *French*; the *Normans*, *Britons*, *Biſcaines*, or *Gaſcoynes*, the *Gothes* (of *Languedoc* and *Provence*) *Burgundians*, and the ancient *Gaules* of *Poictou*, retaining in it ſuch fair and ample Provinces. But it is the cuſtome (ſhall I ſay) or fate of leſſer and weaker Nations, to looſe their names unto the ſtronger; as Wives do to their Husbands: and the ſmaller Rivers to the greater. Thus we ſee the little Province of *Poland* to have maſtered, and given name to the *Pruteni*, *Marovy*, and other Nations of *Sarmatia Europæa*: as that of *Moſco* hath unto all the *Provinces* of *Aſiatica*. Thus hath *Sweden* conquered and denominated almoſt all the great *Peninſula* of *Scandia*, where it is but a little parcell: and thus did the *Engliſh Saxon*, being the moſt prevailing of the reſt, impoſe the name of *Engliſh* on all the people of the *Heptarchy*.

Et dedit impoſito nomina priſca jugo.

And good reaſon the vanquiſhed ſhould ſubmit themſelves as well unto the appellation, as the Lawes of the Victor.

The *French* then are poſſeſſors of ſome part of *old Gallia*, and maſters of the reſt; poſſeſſors not of their Cities onely, but their conditions; a double victory it ſeemeth they enjoyed over that people: and took from them at once, both their Qualities and their Countries. Certainly whoſoever will pleaſe to peruſe the Commentaries of *Cæſar de Bello Gallico*, he will eaſily gueſs him an

Hiſto-

Historian, and a Prophet. He will rather make himself beleeve that he hath Prophitied the character of the present *French*, then delivered one of the ancient *Gaules*. And indeed it is a matter worthy both of wonder and observation, that the old *Gaules*, being in a manner all worn out, should yet have most of their condition surviving in those men which now inhabit that Region, being of so many several Countries and originals. If we dive into Natural causes, we have a speedy recourse unto the powerfull influence of the Heavens; for as those celestial bodies considered in the general, do work upon all sublunary bodies in the general, by light, influence, and motion: so have they a particular operation on particulars: an operation there is wrought by them in a man, as born at such and such a minute; and again, as born under such and such a climate: the one derived from the setting of the houses, and the Lord of the *Horoscope* at the time of his nativity: the other from that Constellation which governeth as it were the Province of his birth; and is the *Genius* or *Deus tutelaris loci*. *Hinc illa ab antiquo vitia*, (saith an Author, moderne rather in time than judgement) *et patria sorte duratia, quæ totas in historiis gentes aut commendant aut notant.* Two or three Authors by name of parallel, will make it clear in the example, though it appear not obscure in the search of causes. *Primus Gallorum impetus major quàm virorum; secundus minor quam fœminarum*, saith *Florus* of the *Gaules*. What else is that which Mr. *Dallington* saith of the *French*, when he reporteth that they begin an action

action like thunder, and end it in a smoak. Their attempts on *Naples* and *Millaine*, (to omit their present enterprize on *Genoa*) are manifest proofs of it. Neither will I now speak of the battaile of *Poictiers*, when they were so forward in the onsets, and furious in the flight, *ut sunt Gallorum subitæ ingenia*, saith *Cæsar*; and I think these people are well known to be as hair-brain'd, as the other ever were. *Juvenal* calleth *Gallum facundum Causidicorum*, and amongst the modern *French*, it is related that there are tryed more Law cases in one year, than have been in *England* since the Conquest. Of the ancient *Germaines*, the next neighbours and confederates of the *Gaules*, *Tacitus* hath given us this note, *Diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum*: and presently after, *de jungendis affinitatibus, de bello denique et pace inconviviis consultant.* Since the times of *Tacitus* hath *Germany* almost shifted all her old inhabitants, and received new *Colonies* of *Lombards*, *Sueves*, *Gothes*, *Sclavonians*, *Huns*, *Saxons*, *Vandals*, and divers other Nations unknown to that writer; yet still is that exhorbitancie of drinking in fashion: and to this day do the present *Germaines* consult of most of their affairs in their cups: if the *English* have borrowed any thing of this humor, it is not to be thought the vice of the Country, but the time. To go yet higher and further, the Philosopher *Anacharsis* (and he lived six hundred and odd years before *Christ*) noted it in the *Greeks*, that at the beginning of their feasts they used little goblets, and greater towards the end, when they

they were almost drunken: θαυμάζειν φησι πῶς Ἕλληνες ἀρχόμενοι μὲν ἐν μικροῖς πίνουσι, πλησθέντες δὲ ἐν μεγάλοις: as *Laertius* reporteth it. Sr. *George Sandis* in that excellent discourse of his own travells, reporteth the same custome to continue still amongst them, notwithstanding the length of time, and all those changes of State and People which have since happened. Their Empire indeed they have lost, their Valour, and all other Graces which set them out in the eye of the World; and no marvail, these were not National conditions, but personall endowments. I conclude this digression with the words of *Barklay*, *Hæret itaque in omni gente vis quædam inconcussa, quæ hominibus pro conditione terrarum in quibus nasci contigerit, sua fata dimiserit.*

The present *French*, then is nothing but an old *Gaule*, moulded into a new name: as rash he is, as head strong, and as hair-brain'd. A Nation whom you shall winne with a feather, and loose with a straw; upon the first sight of him, you shall have him as familiar as your sleep, or the necessity of breathing, In one hours conference, you may indear him to you], in the second unbutton him, the third pumps him dry of all his secrets, and he gives them you as faithfully, as if you were his *Ghostly Father*, and bound to conceale them *sub sigillo confessionis*; when you have learned this, you may lay him aside, for he is no longer serviceable. If you have any humor in holding him in a further acquaintance (a favour which he confesseth, and I beleeve him, he is unworthy of,) himself will make the first separation: he hath

said

ſaid over his leſſon now unto you, and now muſt find out ſome body elſe, to whom to repeare it. *Fare* him well; he is a garment whom I would be loath to wear above two dayes together, for in that time he will be thred bare. *Familiare eſt hominis omnia ſibi remittere*, ſaith *Velleius* of all, it holdeth moſt properly in this people. He is very kind hearted to himſelf, and thinketh himſelf as free from wants, as he is full: ſo much he hath in him the nature of a *Chynois*, that he thinketh all men blind but himſelf. In this private ſelf conceitedneſs he hateth the *Spaniard*, loveth not the *Engliſh*, and contemneth the *German*: himſelf is the onely Courtier and compleat Gentleman; but it is his own glaſs which he ſeeth in. Out of this conceit of his own excellencie, and partly out of a ſhallowneſs of brain, he is very lyable to exceptions; the leaſt diſtaſte that can be, draweth his ſword, and a minutes pauſe ſheatheth it to your hand: afterwards if you beat him into better manners, he ſhall take it kindly, and cry *Serviteur*. In this one thing they are wonderfully like the Devil; meekneſs or ſubmiſſion makes them inſolent, a little reſiſtance putteth them to their heeles, or makes them your *Spaniels*. In a word (for I have held him too long) he is a waſing vanitie in a new faſhion.

I will give you now a taſte of his Table, which you ſhall find in a meaſure furniſhed, (I ſpeak not of the Paiſant) but not with ſo full a manner as with us. Their Beef they cut out into ſuch chops, that that which goeth there for a laudable diſh, would be thought here a *Univerſity Com-*

mons; new ſerved from the Hatch. A Loyne of Mutton ſerves amongſt them for three roſtings, beſides the hazard of making pottage with the rump. Fowl alſo they have in good plenty; eſpecially ſuch as the King found in *Scotland*: to ſay truth, that which they have, is ſufficient for nature and a friend, were it not for the Miſtriſs, or the Kitchin wench. I have heard much fame of the *french* Cookes, but their skill lyeth not in the neat handling of Beef or Mutton. They (have as generally have all this Nation) good fancies, and are ſpeciall fellowes for the making of puff paſtes, and the ordering of banquets. Their trade is not to feed the belly, but the pallat. It is now time you were ſet down, where the firſt thing you muſt do, is to ſay your own Grace; private Graces are as ordinary there, as private Maſſes, and from thence I think they learned them. That done, fall to where you like beſt; they obſerve no method in their eating, and if you look for a carver, you may riſe faſting. When you are riſen, if you can digeſt the ſluttiſhneſs of the Cookery, (which is moſt abominable at firſt ſight) I dare truſt you in a Garriſon; follow him to Church and there he will ſhew himſelf moſt irreligious and irreverent: I ſpeak not of all but the generall. At a Maſſe in *Cordeliers* Church in *Paris*, I ſaw two *French* papiſts, even when the moſt ſacred Miſtery of their faith was celebrating, break out into ſuch a blaſphemous and atheiſtical laughter, that even an *Ethnick* would have hated it: it was well they were known to be *Catholiques*, otherwiſe ſome *French* hot head or other, would have ſent them laughing to *Pluto*.

The

The *French* Language is indeed very sweet and delectable, it is cleared of all harshness, by the cutting and leaving out the consonants, which maketh it fall off the tongue very volubly; yet in mine opinion, it is rather elegant than copious; and therefore is much troubled for want of words to find out Periphrases. It expresseth very much of it self in the action: the head, body and shoulders concurre all in the pronouncing of it; and he that hopeth to speak it with a good grace, must have something in him of the *Mimick*. It is enriched with a full number of significant Proverbs, which is a great help to the *French* humor in scoffing, and very full of Courtship, which maketh all the people complemental; the poorest Cobler in the village hath his Court cringes, and his *eau bemste de Cour*, his Court holy water as perfectly as the Prince of *Conde*.

In the *Passadoes* of their Courtship, they expresse themselves with much variety of gesture, and indeed it doth not misbecome them: were it as gracious in the Gentlemen of other Nations as in them, it were worth your patience; but the affectation of it is scurvy and ridiculous. *Quocunque salutationis artificio corpus inflectant, putes nihil ist à institutione magis convenire. Vicina autem gentes ridiculo errore deceptæ, eiusdem Venustatis imitationem ludieram faciunt et ingratam*: as one happily observed at his being amongst them. I have heard of a young Gallant Sonne to a great Lord of one of the three Brittish Kingdomes, that spent some years in *France* to learn fashions; at his return he desired to see the King, and his Father

procuted him an enterveiwe; when he came within the presence Chamber, he began to compose his head, and carryed it, as though he had been ridden with a Martingale; next he fell to draw back his leggs, and thrust out his shoulders, and that with such a graceless apishness, that the King asked him, if he meant to shoulder him out of his Chair, and so left him to act out his complement to the hangings. In their Courtship they bestow even the highest titles upon those of the lowest condition. This is the vice also of their common talk, the begger begitteth *Monsieurs* and *Mudames* to his Sonnes and Daughters, as familiarly as the King: were there no other reason to perswade me, that the *Welch* or *Brittaynes* were the defendants of the *Gaules*, this onely were sufficient, that they would all be Gentlemen.

His discourse runneth commonly on two wheeles, *Treason* and *Ribaldry*; I never heard people talk less reverently of their Prince, not more sawcily of his actions; scarce a day passeth away, without some seditious pamphlet printed and published in the disgrace of the King, or of some of his Courtires. These are every mans money, and he that buyeth them is not coye of the Contents, be they never so scandalous: of all humors the most harsh and odious. Take him from this (which you can hardly do till he hath told all) and then he falleth upon his ribaldry; without these crutches, his discourse would never be able to keep pace with his company. Thus shall you have them relate the stories of their own uncleannes, with a face as confident, as if they had

had no accident to pleaſe their hearers more commendible. Thus will they reckon up the ſeveral profanations of pleaſure, by which they have *diſmanned themſelves*; ſometimes not ſparing to deſcend unto particulars. A valiant Captaine never gloried more, in the number of the Cities he had taken, then they do of the ſeveral women they have proſtituted.

Egregiam verò Laudem, et ſpolia ampla!

Fooliſh and moſt periſhing wretches, by whom *each ſeveral incontinency is twice committed*, firſt *in the act*, and ſecondly *in the boaſt*. By themſelves they meaſure others; and think them *Naturals* or *Simplicians* which are not ſo conditioned. I proteſt I was fain ſometimes to put on a little impudencie, that I might avoid the ſuſpition of a gelding or a ſheep-biter. It was St. *Auſtins* caſe as himſelf teſtifyeth in the ſecond Book of his Confeſſions: *Fingebam me*(ſaith the good Father) *feciſſe quod non feceram, ne cæteris viderer abiectior.* But he afterwards was ſorry for it, and ſo am I, and yet indeed there was no other way to keep in a good opinion of that unmanly and ungoverned people.

Chap. II.

The French *Women, their perſons, prating and conditions; the immodeſty of the* French *Ladies. Kiſſing not in uſe amongſt them, and the ſiniſter opinion conceived of the free*

use of it in England: *The innocency and harmlesnes of it amongst us*: *The impostures of* French *Panders in* London, *with the scandall thence arising*: *The peccancy of our old* English *Doctor*. *More of the* French *Women*: *Their Marriages and lives after Wedlock*: *An Elegie to the* English *Ladies*.

I Am now come to the *French* Women; and it were great pitty they should not immediately follow the discourse of the Men; so like they are one to the other, that one would think them to be the same, and that all the difference lay in the apparel: for person they are generally of an indifferent stature; their bodies straight, and their wastes commonly small; but whether it be so by nature, or by much restraining of those parts, I cannot say. It is said that an *absolute Woman* should have (amongst other qualities requisite) the parts of a *French* Woman from the neck to the girdle; but I beleeve it holdeth not good; their shoulders and backs being so broad, that they hold no proportion with their middles: yet this may be the vice of their apparrel. *Their hands* are in my opinion the comelyest and *best ordered* parts of them, *long*, *white*, *and slender*; were their faces answerable, even an *English* eye would apprehend them lovely: but here I find a pretty contradictory, the hand, as it is the best ornament of the whole structure, so doth it most disgrace it: whether it be that ill dyet be the cause

of

of it, or that hot blood wrought upon by a hot and scalding ayr, must of necessity by such means vent it self, I am not certain: this I am sure of that scarce the tythe of all the maids we saw, had their hands, armes, and wrests free from scabs; which had overrunne them like a Leprosie. Their hair is generally black, and indeed somewhat blacker, then a gratious lovelines would admit. The Poets commend *Leda* for her black hair, and not unworthily.

Leda fuit nigris conspicienda comis.

As *Ovid* hath it; yet was that blackness but a darker brown, and not so fearful as this of the *French* women. Again the blackness of *the hair is there accounted an ornament*; when the face about which it hangeth, is of so perfect a complection and symmetrie, that it giveth a lustre; then doth *the hair set forth the face, as a shaddow doth a picture*, and the face becometh the hair, as *a field argent doth a sable bearing*: which kind of armoury the Heralds call the most faireſt. But in this the *French* Women are most unlucky, *Don Quixote* did not so deservedly assume to himself the name of *the Knight of the ill favoured face*; as may they that of the Damosells of it. It was therefore a happy speech of a young *French* gallant, that came in our company out of *England*, and had it been spoken amongst the Ancients, it might have been registred for an *Apothegme*: That the *English* of all the people in the World were only *Nati ad voluptates*: you have, saith he, *the fair-*

of Women, the goodliest Horses, and *the best breed of Doggs under Heaven*: for my part (as farre as I could in so short a time observe) I dare in his first beleeve him. *England* not onely being (as it is stiled) *a Paradise for Women*, by reason of their priviledges; but a *Paradise also of Women*, by reason of their unmatchable perfections: Their dispositions hold good intelligence with their faces; you cannot say of them as *Suetan* doth of *Galba*, *Ingenium Galbæ malè habitat*: they suit so well the one with the other, that in my life I never met with a better decorum. But you must first here them speak, *Loquere ut te videam*, was the method in old times, and it holdeth now. You cannot gather a better Character of a *French* Woman than from her *prating*, *which is tedious and infinite*; *that you shall soonr want eares*, *than the tongue*. The fastedious pratler which *Horace* mentioneth in his ninth Satyre, was but a Puesne to her. The writers of these times call the *Sicilians gerræ Siculæ*, and not undeservedly; yet were they but the Scholers of the *French*; and learned this faculty of them before the Vespers. It is manners to give precedency to the Maistresse, and she will have it, if words may carry it for two things, I would have had *Aristotle* acquainted with these Chartings; first it would have saved him a labour in taking such paines about finding out the prepetual motion: secondly it would have freed him from an Heresie with which his doctrine is now inserted, and that is, *Quicquid movetur*, *ab alio movetur*; their tongues I am certain move themselves, and make their own occasions

occasions of discoursing: when *they are a going they are like a Watch*, you need not wind them above once in twelve hours, for so long the *thred of their tongues will be in spinning.* A Dame of *Paris* came in a Coach with us from *Rouen*, fourteen hours we were together, of which time (Ile take my oath upon it) *her tongue fretted away a eleven hours and fifty seven minutes*; such everlasting talkers are they all, that they will sooner want breath than words, and they are *never silent but in the grave*, which may also be doubted.

As they are endless in their talk, so are they also regardless of the company they speak in; be he stranger or of their acquaintance it much matters not; though indeed no man is to them a stranger, within an hour of the first sight you shall have them familiar more than enough; and *as merry with you, as if they had known your bearing cloth.* It may be they are chast, and I perswade my self many of them are; but you will hardly gather it out of there behaviour. *Te tamen et cultus damnat*, as *Ausonius* of an honest Woman, that carryed her self lesse modestly. They are abundantly full of laughter and toying, and are never without variety of lascivious songs, which they spare not to sing in whose company soever: you would think modesty were quite banished the Kingdom, or rather that it had never been there. Neither is this the weakness of some few, it is an *Epidemicall disease*: Maids and Wives are alike sick of it, though not both so desperately. The Galliards of the Mayds being of the two a little more tollerable; that of the Women coming hard upon

upon the confines of shamelesness. As for the *Ladies of the Court* (I can speak this but upon hear-say) *they are as much above them in their lightness, as they are in their place*: and so much the worse, in that they have made their lightness impudent: for whereas the daughter of *Pythagoras*, being demanded what shamed her most to discourse of? made answer, Ταυτα δ' ἁ γύνη κοκλημας: those parts which made her a Women: these *French* Dames will speak of them even in the hearing of men, as freely, and almost as broadly as a Midwife, or a Barbar Surgeon. Nay I have heard a Gentleman of good credence relate, that being at a Tilting, he saw a Courtier going to remove a boy, who very roguishly looked under a Ladies Cloathes; but when her Ladyship perceived his intention, she hindered him with this Complement, *Laisse Monsieur Laisse les yeux ne pas Larrons*, the boyes would steal nothing. A very merciful and gentle Lady: if that of *Justin* be still true, *Vera mulierum ornamenta pudicitiam esse non vestes*: that *modesty were the best apparrel of a Woman*; I am affraid many of the female sexe in *France* would be thinly clad, or else go naked.

Being a people thus prone to a sudden familiarity, and so prodigal of their tongues and company; you would scarce imagine them to be coy of their lips; yet this is their humour. It seemed to me at first strange and uncivil, that a woman should turn away from the proffer of a salutation. Afterwards I liked the custom very well, and I had good cause for it; for it saved me from many *an unsavoury peice of mannerliness*. This notwithstanding could

could not but amaze me, that they who in their actions were so light and wanton, should yet think themselves modest; and confine all lasciviousnes unto a kiss. A woman that is kissed, they account more than half whored, be her deportment never so becoming; which maketh them very sparing of receiving such kindnesses. But this is but a dissembled unwillingness, and hath somewhat in it of the *Italian*; As *they had rather murther a man in private, than openly speak ill of him*: so it may be thought, that these Damsels would hardly refuse a mans bed, though education hath taught them to fly from his lips. Night and the Curtains may conceal the one, the other can obtain no pardon in the eye of such as may happen to observe it.

Upon this ground your French Traveller, that perhaps may see his Hostess kissed at *Dover*; and see a Gentleman salute a Lady in the streets of *London*, relateth at his coming home strange Chymera's of the English modesty; to further this sinister opinion, he will not spare to tell his Comerades (for this I have noted to you to be a part of his humour) what Merchants Wives he enjoyed at *London*, and in what familiarity such a Lady entertained him at *Westminster*. Terrible untruths, and yet my poor Gallant thinketh he lieth not. I remember I met in *Paris* with an English Docter, and the Master of a Colledge there, who complained much of the lasciviousnes of the English Women; and how infamously every French Taylor that came from us reported of them, withall he protested it did not much greive him; because he thought

it

it a juſt judgement of God upon our Nation, that all the married men ſhould thus ſuffer. *A ſtrange peice of Divinity to me*, that never before heard ſuch preaching. This was the occaſion of the doctrine. In the old Engliſh *Maſs-book*, called *Secundum uſum Sarum*, the Woman at the time of marriage promiſeth her future Husband to be bonny and buxome at bed and at board till death us depart, &c. This being too light for the gravity of the action then in hand; and in mine opinion ſomewhat leſs reverent than a Church duty would require; the Reformers of that Book thought good to alter, and thought fitter to *put in, to love, cherish and obey*. That this was a ſufficient aſſurance of Conjugal faith he would not grant, becauſe the promiſe of being buxome in bed was excluded. Beſides, he accounted the ſuppoſed diſhoneſty of the Engliſh Wives as a vengeance plucked down on the heads of the people, for chopping and changing the words of the holy Sacrament (for ſuch they eſteem the form of Matrimony.) Though his argument needed no anſwer; yet his accuſation might expect one. And an Engliſh Gentleman (though not of the Engliſh faith) laid open the abuſe, and ſeemed to ſpeak it out of knowledge. When the *Monſieurs* came over full purſed to *London*, the French Pandars, which lay in wait for ſuch booties, grow into their acquaintance, and promiſe them the imbraces of ſuch a Dame of the City, or of ſuch a Lady of the Court; Women perhaps famed for admirable beauties. But *as Ixion amongſt the Poets expected* Juno, *and enjoyed a Cloud*: So thoſe beguiled wretches, inſtead of thoſe eminent

eminent persons mentioned to them, take into their bosomes some of the common prostitutes of the Town. Thus are they cozened in their desires: thus do they lie in their reports: whilst, poor fools, they think themselves guilty of neither imposture.

For the other accusation, which would seem to fasten a note of immodesty upon our English Gentlewomens lips; I should be like enough to confess the crime, were the English kisses like unto those of the French. As therefore Doctor *Bale* Master of the Requests said unto *Mendoza* the Spanish Embassador, upon his dislike of the promiscuous sitting of men and women within our Churches, *Turpe quidem id esse apud* Hispanos, *qui etiam in locis sacris cogitarent de explendâ libidine, a quâ procul aberant* Anglorum *mentes*: So do I answer to the bill of the Complaint. An *Oxford* Doctor upon this Text, *Betrayest thou the Son of man with a Kiss?* made mention of four sorts of kisses, *viz. Osculum charitatis, Osculum gratioris familiaritatis, Osculum calliditatis*, and *Osculum carnalitatis*: Of these I will bestow the *last on the French*; and the *third on the Spaniards*, retaining the *two first unto our selves*: whereof the one is enjoyned by the precept, and the other warranted by the examples of holy Scriptures: For my part I see nothing in the innocent and harmless salutations of the English, which the Doctor calleth *Oscula gratioris familiaritatis*, that may move a French mans suspition; much, I confess, which may stir his envy: perhaps a want of that happiness in himself maketh him to dislike it in us: as the Fox that had lost his

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tayl perswaded all others to cut off theirs. But I have already toucht the reason, why that Nation is unworthy of such a favour; their kisses being heat and sulphury; and indeed nothing but the *Prologue of their lust*: whereas on the contraty, and I dare be confident in it, the chast and innocent kis of the English Gentlewoman is more in Heaven, than many of their best devotions. It were not amiss to explain in this place a verse of *Ovids*, common in the mouthes of many, but in the understanding of few.

Oscula qui sumpsit, & non & cætera sumpsit
Hæc quoque quæ sumpsit perdere dignus erat.
He that doth onely kiss, and do th no more,
Deserves to loose the kisses given before.

Which must be understood according to the fashion of *Rome* and *Italy* (and since of *France* and *Spain*) where they were given as pawns of a dishoneſt contract, and not according to the customs of *England*, where they are onely proffered in the way of a gratious and innocent familiarity, and so accepted.

I return again to the French women, and though *I may not kiss them* (*which he that seeth them will have good cause to thank God for*) yet they are at liberty to be courted: An office which they admit freely, and return as liberally: an office to which they are so used, that they can hardly distinguish complement from woing, till the Priest expecteth them at the Church door: That day they set themselves forth with all the variety of riches their cre-

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die can extend to: A Schollar of the Univerſity never diſfurniſhed ſo many of his Freinds to provide for a journey, as they do neighbours to adorn that wedding. At my being at *Pontoiſe* I ſaw Mrs. *Bride* return from the Church; the day before ſhe had been ſomewhat of the condition of a Kitchen wench, but now ſo *tricked up with ſcarfes, rings and croſs-garters*, that *you never ſaw a Whiſſon Lady better rigged*: I ſhould much have applauded the fellows fortunes, if he could have married the Clothes: but (God be merciful to him) he is chained to the Wench: Much joy may they have together moſt peerleſs couple.

Hymen O Hymenae, Hymen Hymen O Hymenae.

The match was well knit up among them. I would have a French man marry none but a French woman.

Being now made Miſtreſs of an houſe, ſhe can give her ſelf a diſpenſation to drink Wine. Before ſhe had a fling at the bottle by ſtealth, and could make a ſhift *to play off her whole ewe in a corner*; as St. *Auſtin* in the ninth book of his *Confeſſions* reporteth of his Mother *Monica*: Now ſhe hath her draughts like the ſecond Edition of a book augmented and reviſed; and which is more, publiſhed *cum Privilegio*. *Her houſe ſhe keeps as ſhe doth her ſelf. It would puzzle a ſtrong judgement to reſolve which of the two was the moſt naſty*: yet after ten of the clock you may come nigh her; for by that time ſhe hath not onely eaten, but it may be her hall hath had a bruſhing. If you be not careful of your time, you

ſhall

shall commonly find her speechless, her mouth being stopped with some of the reliques of last nights supper. *To five meals a day she is very constant*, and for variety sake she will make some of them at the street door. She is an exceeding good soul (as *Sancho Pancha* said of his Wife) and one that will not pine her self, though her heirs smart for it. *To her Husband she is* very servile, seldom sitteth with him at the table, readily executing all his commands, and is *indeed rather a married servant than a Wife*, or *a houshold drudge under the title of a Mistress*. Yet on the other side she hath freedome enough, and certainly much more than a moderate wisedome would permit her. It is one of her *iura conjugalia* to admit of Courtship even in the sight of her Husband, to walk arm in arm about the streets, or in the fields, with her *Privado*, to proffer occasions of familiarity and acquaintance at the first sight of one whose person she relisheth, and all this *sans suspecion* without the least imputation. A liberty somewhat of the largest, and we may justly fear, that having thus wholly in her own power the keys of the Cabinet, she sheweth her Jewels to more than her husband. Such are the French women, and such lives do they lead both Maids and Married.

Then happy England! *Thy four Seas contain*
The pride of Beauties; *Such as may disdain*
Rivals on earth; *Such as at once may move*,
By a strange power, the envy and the love
Of all their Sex besides. Admit a Dame
Of France *or* Spain *pass in the breath of Fame*,

And

And her own thoughts for Fair: Yet let her view
The commonſt Beauties of the Engliſh crew;
And in deſpair ſhee'l execrate the day
Which bare her black, and ſigh her ſelf away.
So pin'd the Phrygian Dames and hang'd the head,
When into Troy Paris *his* Helen *lead:*
But boaſt not Paris; England *now enjoyes*
Helens *enough to ſack a World of* Troys:
So do the vulgar Tapers of the Skie
Looſe all their luſtre when the Moon is nigh.
Yet Engliſh Ladies (glorious Lights) *as far*
Exceed the Moon, as doth the Moon a Star:
So do the common people of the Groves
Grow huſh't, when Philomel *recounts her Loves:*
But when our Ladies ſing, even ſhe forbears
To uſe her tongue; and turns her tongue to ears:
Nay more; their beauties ſhould proud Venus *ſee,*
Shee'd bluſh her ſelf *out of her Deitie;*
Drop into Vulcan's *forge, her raign now done,*
And yeild to them her Empire and her Son.
Yet this were needleſs; I can hardly find
Any of theſe Land-ſtars, *but ſtraight my mind*
Speaks her a Venus; *and me thinks I ſpye*
A little Cupid *ſporting in her eye:*
Who thence his ſhaft more powerfully delivers
Than e're did th' other Cupid *from his quivers:*
Such in a word they are: you would them gueſs
An harmony of all the Goddeſſes:
Or ſwear, that partial Nature at their birth
Had robb'd the Heavens to glorifie the earth.
Such though they are; yet mean theſe graces bin
Compar'd unto the vertues lodg'd within:

For needs the Jewels must be rich and pretious,
The Cask that keeps them being so delicious.

Chap. III.

France *described : The Valley of* Montmorancie *and the Dukes of it.* Mont-Martyr. *Burials in former times not permitted within the Wals. The prosecuting of this discourse by manner of a Journal intermitted. The Town and Church of St.* Denis. *The Legend of him and his head. Of* Dagobert *and the Leper. The reliques to be seen there : Martyrs how esteem'd in St.* Austin's *time : The Sepulchers of the French Kings and the Treasury there. The Kings House of* Madrit. *The Queen Mothers House at* Ruall, *and fine devices in it. St.* Germanenly *another of the Kings Houses : the curious painting in it.* (Gorrambery *Window.*) *The Garden belonging to it, and the excellency of the Water-works. Boys, St.* Vincent *and the Castle called* Biseſtre.

I Have now done with the *French* both Men and Womē: a people much extolled by many of the Englisn Travellers for all those graces which may enoble and adorn both Sexes: For my part, having obſerved them as well as I could, and traced them in

in all their ſeveral humours, I ſet up my reſt with this propoſition, that *there is nothing to be envied in them but their Country*; To that indeed I am earneſtly, and I think not unworthily affected: here being nothing wanting which may be required to raiſe and reward ones liking. If Nature were ever prodigal of her bleſſings, or ſcattered them with an over-plentiful hand, it was in this Iſland into which we were entred as ſoon as we were paſſed over the bridge of *Pontoiſe*. The firſt part of it, laſting for three leagues, was upon the plain of a Mountain, but ſuch a Mountain as will hardly yeild to the beſt Valley in *Europe* out of *France*. On both ſides of us the Vines grew up in a juſt length, and promiſed to the Husband-man a thriving vintage. The Wines they yeild are far better than thoſe of *Normandy* or *Gaſcoyne*, and indeed the beſt in the whole Continent, thoſe of *Orleans* excepted; yet what we ſaw here was but as a bit to prepare our ſtomacks, leaſt we ſhould ſurfeit in the Valley.

Here we beheld Nature in her richeſt veſtments. The fields enterchangeably planted with Wheat and Vines: That had *L. Florus* once beheld it, he would never have given unto *Campania* the title of *Cereris & Bacchi certamen*. Theſe fields were diſperſedly here and there beſet with Cherry-trees: which conſidered with the reſt gave unto the eye an excellent object. For the Vines yet green, the Wheat ready for the ſithe, and the Cherries now full ripened, and ſhewing forth their beauty through the vail of the leaves, made ſuch a various and delightſome mixture of colours, that no art

could have expreſſed it ſelf more delectable. If you have ever ſeen an exquiſite Moſaical work you may beſt judge of the beauty of this Valley. Add to this that the River *Seine* being now paſt *Paris*, either to embrace that flouriſhing ſoyl, or out of a wanton deſire to play with it ſelf, hath divided it ſelf into ſundry leſſer channels, beſides its ſeveral windings and turnings: So that one may very juſtly, and not irreligiouſly conceive it to be an *Idæa* or *repreſentation of the Garden of Eden*; the River ſo happily ſeparating it ſelf to water the ground. This Valley is a very large circuit. And as the Welch-men call *Angleſea Mon Mam Gymry*, that is, *the Mother of Wales*: ſo may we call this the *Mother of Paris*: for ſo abundantly doth it furniſh that great and populous City, that when the *Dukes* of *Bary* and *Burgundie* beſieged it with 100000. men, there being at that time three or 400000. Citizens and Souldiers within the wals, neither the people within, nor the enemy without, found any want of proviſion.

It is called the Valley of *Montmorencie*, from the Town and Caſtle of *Montmorencie* ſeated in it. But this Town nameth not the Valley onely; it giveth name alſo to the ancient family of the *Dukes* of *Montmorencie*, the *ancienteſt houſe of Chriſtendom*. He ſtiled himſelf *Lepremier Chriſtien, & plus vicil Baron de' France*, and it is ſaid, that his Anceſtors received the faith of Chriſt by the preaching of St. *Denis* the firſt Biſhop of *Paris*. Their principal houſes are that of *Chantilly* and *Ecquean*, both ſeated in the Iſle: This laſt being given to this preſent Dukes Father by King *Henry* the fourth, to whom

whom it was confiscated by the condemnation of one of his Treasurers. This house also (and so I beleive it) hath been observed to have yeilded to *France* more *Constables*, *Marshals*, *Admirals*, and the like Officers of power and command, than any three other in the whole Kingdom, insomuch that I may say of it, what *Irenicus* doth of the *Count Palatines*, the names of the Countries onely changed: *Non alia Gallia est familia cui plus debent nobilitus.* The now Duke named *Henry*, is at this present *Admiral* of *France*.

The most eminent place in all the Isle is *Mont-Martyr*, eminent I mean by reason of its height; though it hath also enough of antiquity to make it remarkable. It is seated within a mile of *Paris*, high upon a Mountain, on which many of the faithful, during the time that *Gaule* was heathenish, were made *Martyrs*: Hence the name; though *Paris* was the place of apprehension and sentence, yet was this Mountain commonly the Scaffold of execution: It being the custom of the Ancients, *neither to put to death, nor bury within the wals of their Cities.* Thus the *Jews* when they crucified our Saviour, led him out of the City of *Hierusalem* unto Mount *Calvary*: unto which St. *Paul* is thought to allude; *Hebr.* 13. saying, *Let us therefore go forth to him*, &c. Thus also doth St. *Luke* (to omit other instances) report of St. *Stephen*, *Acts* 7. *And they cast him out of the City and stoned him.* So in the State of *Rome*; the *Vestal Virgin* having committed fornication was stifled in the *Campus Sceleritatus*; and other Malefactors thrown down the *Tarpeian rock*; both scituate without the Town.

So also had the *Thessalians* a place of execution from the præcipice of an hill, which they called the κόρακας or *Corvi*: whence arose the Proverb εἰς κόρακας, *be hanged*. As they permitted not execution of Malefactors within their wals: so neither would they suffer the best of their Citizens to be buried within them. This was it which made *Abraham* to buy him *a field wherein to bury his dead*; and thus we read in the seventh of *Luke*, that the Widow of *Naims* Son was carried out to be buried. This custom also we find among the *Athenians*, *Corinthians* and other of the *Gracians*; *qui ingris suis* (saith *Alexander ab Alexandro*) *aut in fundo suburbano, ceu inavito aut patrio-solo corpora humari consuevere*. Amongst the *Romans* it was once the fashion to burn the bodies of their dead within their City. This continued till the bringing in of the *Laws of Athens*, commonly called the *Laws of the twelve Tables*: one of which Laws runneth in these words. *In urbe ne sepelito, neve urito*. After this prohibition their dead corps were first *burned in Campus Martius*; and their Urnes covered in sundry places of the field. The frequent Urnes or sepulchral stones digged up amongst us here in *England* are sufficient testimonies of this assertion. Besides we may find in *Appian*, that the chief reason why the rich men in *Rome* would not yeild to the Law called *Lex Agraria* (for that Law divided the Roman possessions equally among the people) was, because they thought it an irreligious thing, that the Monuments of their fore-fathers should be sold to others. The first that is registred to have been buried in the

City

City was *Trajane* the Emperor. Afterward it was granted as an honorary to ſuch as had deſerved well of the Republique. And when the Chriſtian Religion prevailed; and Church-yards, thoſe dormitories of the Saints were conſecrated, the liberty of burying within the wals was to all equally granted.

On this ground it not being lawful to put to death or bury within the Town of *Paris*; this Mountain was deſtinate to theſe purpoſes: then was it onely a Mountain, now it is enlarged unto a Town. It hath a poor wall, an *Abbey* of *Benedictine Monks*, and a Chappel called *La Chapelle des Martyrs*: both founded by *Lewis* the ſixth, called *The Groſs*. Amongſt others which received here the Crown of Martyrdom, none more famous than St. *Denis* (ſaid to be *Dioniſius Areopagita*) the firſt Biſhop of *Paris*: *Ruſticus* his Arch-preiſt, and *Elentherius* his Deacon. The time when, under the raign of *Domitian*: the perſon by whoſe command *Heſubinus* Governour of *Paris*; the crime; for not bowing before the Altar of *Mercury*, and offering ſacrifice unto him. Of St. *Denis*, being the *Patron* or *Tutelary St. of France*, the *Legend* reports ſtrange wonders, as namely, when the Executioner had ſmitten off his head, he caught it between his arms, and ran with it down the hill, as faſt as his legs could bear him. Half a mile from the place of his execution he ſate down, reſted, and ſo he did nine times in all, even till he came to the place where his Church is now built. There he fell down and died, being *three milee Engliſh from Mount Martyr*; and there he was buried together

with *Ruſticus* and *Elentherius*: who not being able to go as faſt as he did, were brought after by the people. *O impudentiam admirabilem & verè Romanam!* and yet ſo far was the ſucceeding age poſſeſſed with a beleif of this miracle, that in the nine ſeveral places, where he is ſaid to have reſted, ſo many handſom croſſes of ſtones there are erected: all of a making.

To the memory of this St. did *Dagobert* the firſt build a Temple, and the times enſuing improved it to a Town. Afterwards in honour of St. *Denis*, and becauſe it lay near *Paris*, ſome of the following Kings beſtowed a wall upon it. A wall it is of a large circuit, and very much unproportionable to the Town which ſtandeth in it; for all the world *like a Spaniards little face in his great ruffe*: or like a ſmall chop of Mutton in a large diſh of Pottage (at the three-penny ordinary.) Thus was the Town (as you ſee) built by means, but it was not ſo with the Temple: unleſs that be worth a Miracle in the building and in the conſecrating of it, I will not give a ſtraw for it. Thus then ſaith the ſtory: *Dagobert* afterwards King of *France*, during the life of *Clotaire* the ſecond his Father, had cruelly ſlain *Sadraſagille* his Governor. To avoid the fury of his Father, much incenſed with that unprincely action, he was compelled to wander up and down *France*, hungry and thirſty: And as he went, and he went (for this tale ſhould be told in the ſame ſtile that Wenches tell theirs by the fires ſide) till he came to the *Sepulcher of St. Denis*; where he laid himſelf down and ſlept: and then there appeared unto him a fine old man, with a

ſtaff-

ſtaffe in his hand, and he told him, that his Father was dead; and that he ſhould be King: and he prayed him of all loves, that when he came to be King, he would build a *Church* there, *to the honour of St. Denis.* He had an hard heart, that could deny ſo ſweet an old man ſo little a curteſie for ſo much good news: and I trow he was more kind than ſo. And ſo when the Church was built, the Biſhop was ſent for in all haſt to bleſs it. But it chanced the night before the day wherein the Biſhop was to bleſs it, there came to the Town an ugly Leper, and the fouleſt that ever was ſeen. And this Leper would needs lie in the Church: and when he was there, about twelve a clock in the night our *Saviour* came to the Church in garments as white as the driven ſnow. There came with him the *Apoſtles*, the *Angels*, and the *Martyrs*, and the ſweeteſt muſick that ever was heard in the world. Then *Chriſt bleſſed the Church*; and ſaid unto the Leper, that he ſhould tell the Biſhop that the Church was already bleſſed: and for a token of it, he gave the Leper his health: who preſently became as fine a ſweet youth as one ſhould ſee in a ſummers day. *Auditam admiſſe riſum teneatis?* you may laugh if you pleaſe, but I will aſſure you this is the ſtory: Neither is it a jot the leſs authentical becauſe of the ſtile. Such ridiculous ſtuffe did the *Monks* and *Friers* of thoſe times invent to pleaſe and blind the people. So prone were our Anceſtors to *beleive as Oracles* whatever was delivered unto them by theſe *Impoſtors*. *Majoribus noſtris tam facilis in mendaciis fides fuit, ut temere crediderint illis monſtroſa miracula: & quicquid famæ libet fingere,*

fingere, illis erat libentèr audire. *Minutius Felix* spake it of his fore-fathers being Heathens, we may affirm it of ours also being Christians.

But (to omit the additions of the Legend) true it is, that *Dagobert* was the *first Founder* of the Church: which was afterward rebuilt and beautified by the twenty fifth Abbot of it, called *Sugger*, in the raign of King *Lewis* the sixth. A reverent and comely Fabrick certainly it is: Dark, as the Churches of those times commonly were, and none of the poorest. It maintaineth sixty two *Monks* and an *Abbot*, whose single revenue is thought to be *worth ten thousand Crowns* and upward. The present Abbot is *Henry* of *Lorrain*, Son to the *Duke* of *Guise*, a young Gentleman of some fourteen years of age, or thereabouts: but of him more hereafter. The Abbot of it, among many other priviledges, hath a full power upon the lives, goods, and honours of his vassals; and hath a voice in the Parliament of *Paris* as full and binding as any of the Counsellors there sitting. As for the Church it self, it is in height eighty foot, an hundred in breadth, and in length three hundred. The *high Altar*, under which the bodies of Saint *Denis* and his two fellow Martyrs are said to be buried, is a very rich and excellent work: the *Crucifix* standing over it being all of pure gold, embos'd with divers pearls and pretious stones of great value. Before it hangeth a silver Lamp continually burning; and if you look about it, you shall see the richest and the fairest glass for painting in all *France*, that of *Amiens* onely excepted; one thing I will further note in this Church, before I come to the

the Tombs and Reliques; which is, how *Henry the fourth in this Church ſaid his firſt Maſs* after his laſt reconcilement to the Church of *Rome*: and good reaſon I have to ſay his laſt: For having firſt been brought up in the Romiſh faith; he was by his Mother made a *Proteſtant*. At the Maſſacre of *Paris*, fear of death or impriſonment turned him *Papiſt*. Liberty made him again an *Hugonot*. In this he continued till the year 1595. And then once more *re-emboſom'd himſelf in the Roman Synagogue*, which was the time we now ſpeak of. *Quo tenearn nodo mutantem protea vultum*? the onely *Proteus* in matters of faith of our times, Doctor *Perne*, was a diamond to him.

It is now time I ſhould ſhew you the *Reliques*: but you muſt firſt ſtay till the Clerk hath put on his Surplice. I have heard of a blind Prieſt, that could never mumble over his Maſs without his ſpectacles: this *fellow and his Surplice* is juſt like him. I perſwade my ſelf, that the Surplice without the Clark could marſhal the Reliques, as well as the Clark without the Surplice. As ſoon as he was ſadled for his journey, he put himſelf into his way, and followed it with a pace ſo nimbly, that there was no keeping of him company. His tongue ran ſo faſt, that the quickeſt eye there was fain to give him over in plain ground: the fellow that ſheweth the *Tombs* at *Weſtminſter*, being no more to be compared to him for the volubility of his chops, than a *Capuchin* to a *Jeſuite*: yet as we learned afterwards of him, when he was out of his road, they were thus diſpoſed. On the right hand of the Altar (not that high Altar above mentioned) there are

ſaid

said to be kept one of the *nails* which fastened our Saviour to the Cross. Secondly, a *peice of the Cross* it self. Thirdly, some of the *Virgin Maries Milk*. Fourthly, the *arm of St. Simeon* set in a case of gold. And fiftly, the *Reliques of St. Lewis* reserved in a little Chappel, all of gold also, and built after the fashion of *Nostre-dame* in *Paris*. On the left there was shewed us the *head of St. Denis*, and a part of his body: But I mistake my self, it was not the head, but the Portraiture in gold; the head being said to be within it. By this representation he seemeth to have had a very reverend and awful countenance; though I perswade my self, that the rich Crown Miter which he there weareth (and certainly they are of an high value) never belonged to him in his life. On each side of the head are two Angels supporting it, reported to be the work of one *Ely Le plus artiste orfeure de son temps*: the cunningst Gold-smith of his time, who afterwards was made Bishop of *Noyon* and Sainted.

Concerning Reliques I shall have occasion to speak further, when I come to the *holy Chappel in Paris*: somewhat now of the honour due unto the memory of Martyrs. I am none of those that think the memories of those Heroes of the Primitive times not to be honoured in the dust. Neither would I assault their shrines with an irreverent finger. On the other side, they shall never have my prayers directed to them, nor my devotions: nor can I think it lawful to give the remnants of them any bodily observance: though I do and will honour, yet I dare not worship them. St. *Austin* hath cut out the midway between the *Papists* and the

he *Zelots*, in the eighth book of his most excellent work *de Civitate Dei*, and his path it is best to follow: *Honoramus sane memorias eorum, tanquam Sanctorum hominum Dei, qui usque ad mortem suorum corporum pro veritate certarunt.* And a little after, he sheweth the end of these memorials: *viz. Ut ea celebritate Deo vero gratias de eorum victoriis agamus, & nos ad imitationem talium coronarum eorum memoriæ revocatione adhortemur.* One Relique there is, of which this use cannot possibly be made, and what do you think that should be, but the *Lanthorn* which *Judas* used when he went to apprehend his Master. A pretty one I confess, it is richly beset with studs of Christal, through which all the light cometh, the main of it being of a substance not transparent. Had it been shewed me within the first Century of years after the Passion, I might have perhaps been fooled into a beleif, for I am confident it can be no elder. Being as it is, I will acknowledge it to be a Lanthorn, though it belonged not to *Judas*.

From the *Reliques of Martyrs*, proceed we to those of *Kings*, and amongst those there is nothing which will long detain an English man. He that hath seen the *Tombs* at *Westminster*, will think those to be but trifles: if he consider the workmanship, or the riches and the magnificence. The cheif of those mean ones which are there, are those of *Henry* the second, and *Katherine de Medices* his Wife, in a little Chappel of her own building, both in their full proportion, and in their royal habiliments exceeding stately. Here is also a neat *Tomb* of the same *Henry built all of brass*, and supported by four brass

brass pillars. His statue of the same mettal place on the top of it, and composed as if at his prayers. The rest are more in tale than weight: but the chiefest beauties of the Church are in the *Treasury*, which was not mine happiness to see. As I am informed, the most remarkable things in it are these. The *Swords* of *Joan* the Virgin, *Charles* the great, *Rowland* his Cozen, and that of *Henry* the fourth when he was crowned. His Boots, Crown and Scepters, as those of his Son now raigning. A *Cross* of three foot high made of pure gold: A Crown, Scepter and golden Ball given by *Pope Adrian* to *Carolus Magnus*: A golden Crown of a larger size bedecked with adamants and other pretious stones, given by *Charles Martell* after his victory over the *Saracens*: A very fair *Chalice* all of gold, in which St. *Denis* is said to have consecrated the Sacramental Wine. The others of lesser note I purposely omit: for having not seen them, I am loath to go any further upon trust. And so I leave St. *Denis*, a Church so richly furnished, that had I seen all the rarities and glory of it, that onely dayes content had deserved our journey. *Sed hæc infælici nimia.*

Not to continue this discourse any further by way of *journal*, or *gesta dierum*; some few dayes after we had wearied our selves with the sight of *Paris*, we went to see some of their Majesties houses in the Country; and here we passed by *Madrit*, so called of the King of *Spains* house at *Madrit*, after the form of which it is built. The Founder of it was *Francis* the first, who being taken prisoner at the *battel of Pavie*, *Anno* 1525. and thence carried

carried into *Spain*, had no leſs than a twelve-moneths leiſure to draw that platform. A fine contrived houſe it ſeemed to be; but our journey lay beyond it: One league beyond it lay *Ruall*, a ſmall Town belonging to the Abbey of St. *Denis*. In the corner of this Town, the *Queen Mother* hath a fine ſummer houſe, abundantly adorned with retired walks, and a moſt curious variety of Water-works: For beſides the forms of divers glaſſes, pillars and geometrical figures, all framed by the water, there were birds of ſundry ſorts ſo artificially made, that they both deceived the eye by their motion, and the ear by their melody: Somewhat higher, in the midſt of a moſt delicious garden, are two *Fountains* of admirable workmanſhip. In the firſt the Portraitures of *Cerberus*, the *Bore* of *Calidon*, the *Nemean Lyon*, and in the navel of it *Hercules* killing *Hydra*. In the other onely a *Crocodile* full of wild and unruly tricks, and ſending from his throat a muſick not far different from Organs. Had your eyes been ſhut, you would have thought your ſelf in ſome Cathedral Church: this melody of the *Crocodile*, and that other of the Birds, ſo exactly counterfeiting the harmony of a well ordered Quire. And now we are come into the *Grove*, a place ſo full of retired walks, ſo ſweetly and delectably contrived, that they would even entice a man to melancholy; becauſe in them even melancholy would ſeem delightful. The trees ſo interchangeably folded the one within the other, that they were at once a ſhelter againſt wind and ſun, yet not not ſo ſullenly cloſe, but that they afforded the eye an excellent Lordſhip over the vines,

vines, and verdures of the earth imprisoned within them. It seemed a Grove, an Orchard, and a Vine-yard, so variously enterwoven and mixed together, as if it had been the purpose of the Artist to make a man fall in love with confusion. In the middle of the wilderness was seated the *house*, environed round about with a moat of running water; the house pretty and therefore little, built rather for a banquet than a feast. It was built and thus enriched with variety of pleasures by *Mr. de Ponté* Taylor to King *Henry* the fourth, and was, no question, the best garment he ever cut out in his life. Dying he gave it to *Mr. Landerbone*, once his servant, and now his Son by adoption, of whom the *Queen Mother*, taking a liking to it, bought it, giving in exchange an Office in the Treasury worth 400000 Crowns to be sold.

Two leagues from *Ruall* is the Kings house of St. *Germanenly*, an house seated on the top of an hill, just like *Windsore*. The Town of St. *Germain* lyeth all round about it: the River *Reine* (of the same breadth as the *Thames* is at the place mentioned) runneth below it; and the house, by reason of the scite, having a large command of the Country round about it. The Town is poor, and hath nothing in it remarkable but the name, which it took from St. *Germain* Bishop of *Auxerre*, who together with St. *Lupus* Bishop of *Troyes* sailed into *Britain* to root out *Pelagianisme*. The Castle or Seat royal is divided into two parts, the old & the new. The old, which is next unto the Town, is built of brick, and for form it is triangular. Founded it was at the first by *Charles* the first; since strengthened

and

and beautified by the *English*, when it was in their poſſeſſion. *Francis* the firſt added to it the upper ſtory, and the battlements, and *in memoriam facti* hath left a *Capital F.* upon every of the chimneys. The new houſe diſtant from the old about a furlong, and to which you deſcend by a handſome green Court. It was built by *Henry* the fourth. It conſiſts of three ſeveral parts all joyned together, the two outermoſt quadrangular; that in the middle almoſt round, and in the faſhion of a Jewiſh Synagogue. Here we ſaw the *Volatory* full of ſundry forrein Birds, and in one of the loweſt rooms great ſtore of out-landiſh Coins, but theſe were but acceſſories. The principal was the majeſty of the houſe, which is indeed worth the obſervation. The Palace of the *Lon're* ſo much famed, is not to be named the ſame day with that. The rooms are well ordered and well roofed: gorgeouſly ſet out with the curioſity of the Painter. In ſome of the Chambers they ſhewed us ſome poetical fictions, expreſſed by the pencil in the windows, and on the wainſcot, and ſeemed to glory much in them. I confeſs they might plentifully have poſſeſſed my fancy, had I not ſeen the Window in *Gorrambury* gallery, belonging to the right Honorable *Francis Viſcount St. Albons*, a Window, in which all the *Fables* of *Ovid*'s *Metamorphoſis* are ſo naturally and lively reſembled, that if ever Art went beyond it ſelf, it was in that admirable expreſſion.

Let us now take a veiw of the *Water-works*, and here we ſhall ſee in the firſt Water-houſe (which is a ſtately large Walk, vaulted over head) the effigies of a *Dragon* juſt againſt the entrance. An

unquiet Beast, that vomiteth on all that come nigh it. At the end toward the right hand is the statue of a *Nymph* sitting before a pair of Organs. Upon the loosing of one of the pipes the Nymphs fingers began to manage the keys, and brought the instrument to yeild such a musick, that if it were not that of an Organ, it was like it as could be, and not be the same: Unto the division of her fingers her head kept a proportionable time, jolting from one shoulder to the other: as I have seen an old Fidler at a Wake. In the same partition were the counterfeits of all sorts of mils, wch before very eagerly discharged their functions, but upon the beginning of the harmony they suddenly stood still, as if they had ears to have heard it. At the other end toward the left hand we saw a shop of Smiths, another of Joyners, and backsides full of Sawyers and Masons, all idle: upon the first command of the water they all fell to their occupations, and plied them lustily: the Birds every where by their singing saving the Artificers the labour of whistling. Besides upon the drawing of a wooden curtain, there appeared unto us two *Tritons* riding on their Dolphins, and each of them with a shell in his hand, which interchangeably and in turns served them in stead of Trumpets. A very happy *decorum*, and truly poetical.

Cæruleum Tritona vocat, conchâque sonanti
Inspirare jubet.——

Afterwards follows *Neptune* himself sitting in his Chariot drawn with four Tortises, and grasping his

Tricuspis

Tricuspis or threefold Scepter in his hand; the water under them representing all the while a Sea somewhat troubled. Thirty six steps from the front of the house we descended into this Water-house, and by sixty more descended into a second of the same fashion, but not of an equal length with the other. At the right hand of this, is the whole story of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*, and the whole lively acted: the Whale being killed and the Lady loosed from the rock very perfectly. But withall it was so cunningly mannaged, and that with such mutual change of fortune on the parts of both the Combatants, that one who had not known the Fable, would have been sore afraid, that the Knight would have lost the victory, and the Lady her life. At the other end there was shewed unto us,

Orpheus in silvis positus, silvæque sequentes.

I say, there appeared unto us the resemblance of *Orpheus* playing on a treble Violl; the trees moving with the force of the musick, and the wild Beasts dancing in two rings about him. An invention which could not but cost King *Henry* a great sum of money; one string of the Fiddle being by mischance broken, having cost King *Lewis* his Son 1500. Livers. Upon the opening of a double leafed door, there were exhibited unto us divers representations and conceits: which certainly might have been more graceful, if they had not had so much in them of a Pudpet-play. By some thirty steps more we descended into the Garden; and by as many more into a Green, which opened into

the water sides: In which the goodliest Flowet and most pleasing to mine eye, was the statue of an Horse in brass, of that bigness, that I and one of my companions could stand on the neck of him; but dismounting from this Horse we mounted our own, and so took our leaves of Saint *Germain.*

Upon the other side of *Paris* and up the River, we saw another of the Kings Houses called Saint *Vincent*, or *Vincennes*. It was beautified with a large Park by *Philip Augustus*, *An.* 1185. who also walled the Park and repleniſhed it with Deer. In this House have died many famous personages, as *Philip the fair*, *Lewis Hutin*, and *Charles the fair*, but none so much to be lamented as that of our *Henry* the fifth, cut down in the flower of his age, and the middest of his victories. A man most truly valiant, and the *Alexander* of his times. Not far from thence is an old Castle, once strong, but time hath made it now unserviceable. The people call it *Chasteau biseſtre* corruptly for *Vincester*, which maketh me beleive it was built by the English when they were Masters of this Isle.

Chap. IV.

Paris, *the names and antiquity of it. The ſcituation and greatneſs; the cheif ſtrength and fortifications about it. The ſtreets and buildings.* King James *his laudable care in beautifying*

tifying London: *King* Henry *the fourth his intent to fortifie the Town: Why not actuated. The Artifices and wealth of the Citizens: The bravery of the Citizens described under the person of a Barber.*

WE are now come to *Paris*, whether indeed I should have brought you the same day we came from *Pontoise*. It hath had in several ages two several names; the one taken from the people, the other from the scituation. The name taken from the people is that of *Paris*: *Julius Cæsar* in his Commentaries making mention of the Nation of the *Parisii*; and at that time calling the City *Urbem pacisorum*: *Amianus Marcellinus* calleth it by the same name appellative: for as yet the name of *Paris* was not appropriated to it. As for these *Parisii*, it is well known that they were a people of *Gallia Celtica*: but why the people were so called hath been questioned, and that deservedly. Some derive them from a Son of *Paris* the Son of *Priam*: but the humor of deriving all national originations from *Troy*, hath long since been hissed out of the School of Antiquity: The *Berosus* of *John Annius* bringeth them from one *Paris* King of the *Celtæ*: and this authority is alike authentical: The bastards which this *Annius* imposed upon the ancient Writers, are now taught to know their own Fathers. Others deduce it from παρρησια a Greek word, importing *boldness in speech*, which is approved by *William Breton* in the first book of his *Philippiades*.

Finibus egressi patriis per Gallica rura
Sedem quærebant ponendis mœnibus aptam:
Et se Parisios dixerant, nomine Græco:
Quod sonat expositum nostris audacia, verbis.

Leaving their native Soil, they sought through
A place to build a City and a Wall: (*Gaul*
And call'd themselves *Parisians*: which in Greek
Doth note a prompt audacity to speak.

It is spoken of the *Gaules*, who coming out of the more Southern parts here planted themselves. Neither is it improbable, that a *Gallick* Nation should assume unto it self a Greek name; that language having taken good footing in these parts long before and *sans time*; as himself testifieth in his Commentaries. How well this name agreeth with the French nature, I have already manifested in the character of this people both Men and Women: But I will not stand to this Etymology. The names of great Cities are obscure, as those of their Founders: and the conjecturall derivations of them are oftentimes rather plausible than probable, and sometimes neither. As for the antiquity of it; it is said to have been built in the time of *Amaziah King of Judah*; but this also is uncertain, the beginnings of ancient Cities being as dark and hidden as their names. Certain it is, that it is no *puisne* in the world, it being a strong and opulent Town in the dayes of *Julius Cæsar*.

The other name of the City, which indeed is the ancient, and was taken from the scituation of it, is *Lutetia* from *Lutum*, Durt; as being seated in a exceeding

exceeding clammy and durty soyl. To this also consenteth the above named *William* of *Breton* in his said first book of his *Philippiades*, saying.

——— Quoniam tunc temporis illam
Reddebat palus, & terræ pinguedo lutosam
Aptam Parisii posuere Lutetia nomen.

And since the Fens and clammy soyl did make
Their City dirty: for that reasons sake
The Town the name *Lutetia* did take.

As for the Etymology of *Munster*, who derived the name from *Paris* one of the Kings of *Celtæ*, it may (for ought that I know) deservedly keep company with that of *Berosus* already recited. This name of *Lutetia* continued till the coming of the *Franks* into these parts, who to endear the Nation of the *Parisii*, and oblige them more faithfully to do them service, commanded it for ever after to be called *Paris*. But the scituation of the Town gave it not onely the name, it gave it also (as the custom of Godfathers is in *England*) a Christening gift, which is the riches of it, and by consequence the preeminence. In how delicate and flourishing a soyl it is scituate, I have already told you in my description of the valley of *Montmorencie* wherein it standeth. If you will beleive *Comines* in the first book of his History, he will tell you, that (*c'est la cite que iamais ie veisse environnee de meilleux pais & plantureux*) of all the Cities which ever he saw, it is environned with the best

and fruitfullest Country. The River of *Seine* is also no questions a great help to the enriching of it: though it be not navigable to the Town, yet it giveth free passage unto Boats of an indifferent bigg burden; into which the Ships are unladen, and so their commodities carryed up the water: A profitable entercourse between the Sea and the City for the *Merchants*. Of these Boats there are an infinite company, which ply up and down the water, and more indeed (as the said *Comines* is of opinion) than any man can beleeve, that hath not seen them.

It is in circuit (as *Boterus* is of opinion) twelve miles; others judge it at ten: for my part I dare not guesse it to be above eight, and yet I am told by a *French man* that it was in compasse no less than fourteen Leagues within the Walls; an untruth bigger than the Towne. For figure it is *circular*; that being (according to the *Geometricians*) of all figures the most capacious. And questionless if it be true that *Urbs non in mœnibus sed in civibus posita est*, *Paris* may chalenge as great a circuit, as the most of *Europe*; it being little inferiour to the biggest for the multitude of her inhabitants. Joyn the compass and the populousness together, and you shall hear the wisest of the *French* men say, *Que ce qu'est l'ame a la raison, et la prunel a locil, cela mesme est Paris a la France*. Adde to this the verdict of *Charles* the fifth, who being demanded which he thought to be the biggest *City of France*, answered *Roven*: and being then asked what he though of *Paris*, made answer, *Non Paris*, that it was a whole Country;

try; the *Emperour* did well to flatter *Francis* the first, who asked him these questions, and in whose power he then was: otherwise he might have given men good cause to suspect his judgement. The truth is that *Paris* is a fayr and goodly Town, yet withal it is nothing like the miracle that some make it. Were the figure of *London* altered, and all the houses of it cast into a ring, I dare able it a *larger and more goodly Town than Paris*, and that in the comparison, it may give it at the least half a mile odds.

For matter of strength and resistance certain it is, that this *City* is exceeding well seated, were it as well fortified. It lyeth in a plain flat and levell, and hath no hills nigh unto it, from which it can any way be annoyed: and for the casting and making of rowling Trenches, I think the soyle is hardly serviceable. If Art were no more wanting to the strength of it than Nature, in mine opinion it might be made almost impregnable. *Henry* the fourth, seeing the present weakness of it, had once a purpose (as it is said) to have strengthened it according to the moderne Art of fortifications: but it went no further than the purpose. He was a great builder, and had may projects of Masonry in his head, which were little for his profit; and this would have proved less than any: for besides the infinite sums of money, which would have been employed in so immense a work; what had this been in effect, but to put a sword into a mad mans hand. The oft mutinies and seditions of this people hath made it little inferiour to *Laigh*, or *Gaunt*, the two most revolting Townes in Europe.

rope. And again, the *Baracadoes* againſt the perſon of *King Henry* the third, and the long reſiſtance it made to himſelf being weak, were ſufficient to inſtruct him, what might be expected from it by his *Succeſſors*, when it ſhould be ſtrengthened and enabled to rebellion.

The preſent ſtrength of the Town then is not great, the walles being very weak and ruinous; and thoſe other few helps which it hath being little available for defence. The beautifulleſt part of the whole reſiſtance is the Ditch, deep, præcipitate, and broad; and to ſay no more of it, an excellent ward were there any thing elſe correſpondent to it. As for the *Fort* next to St. *Antonies* gate called the *Baſtille*, it is in my conceit too little to protect the Town, and too low to command it. When Swords onely and Pick-axes were in uſe, and afterwards in the infancy of Gunnes, it did ſome ſervice in the Nature of of a *Fortreſſe*; now it onely ſerveth as a *Priſon*, principally for thoſe of the greater ſort, who will permit themſelves to be taken. It is ſaid to be built by the *Engliſh*, when they were *Lords of Paris:* and the *Vulgar* are all of this opinion. Others of the more learned ſort, make it to be the work of one of the *Provoſts* of the *City Du Cheſne* calleth him *Hugues Ambriott*, in the time of *Charles* the fifth, when as yet the *Engliſh* had nothing to do here. The word *Baſtille* in general is a *Fortreſſe*; the article *la* prefixed before it maketh it a name, and appropriateth it to this building. There are alſo two little turrets juſt againſt the Gallery of the *Louure* on both ſides of the *Seine*, intended

intended for the defence of the River; though now they are little able to answer that intention. They also are fathered on the *English*; but how true I know not. Another place I marked, designed perhaps for a *Rampart*, but employed only at this time by Wind-mills: it is a goodly mount of earth, high and capacious, scituate close unto the gate called *St. Martin*, the most defensible part (if well manned) of all *Paris*. Thus is the strength of this Town (as you see) but small, and if *Henry* the fourth, lay so long before it with his Army, it was not because he could not take it, but because he would not: *He was loath* (as *Byron* advised him,) *to receive the bird naked*, which he expected with all his feathers: and this answer he gave to my Lord *Willoughby*, who undertook to force an entry into it.

For the *Streets* they are made of a lawfull and competent bredth, well pitched under the foot with fair and large Pebble: This paving of it was the work of *Philip Augustus*, *Anno* 1223. or thereabouts: before which time it could not but be miserably dirty, if not unpassable. As it now is, the least *rain maketh it very slippery and troublesome*, and as little a continuance of *warm weather*, *stinking and poisonous*: But whether this noysomness proceed from the nature of the ground, or the sluttishness of the people in their houses, or the neglect of the Magistrates in not providing a sufficiency of *Scavingers*, or all, I am not to determine. This I am confident of, that the *nastiest Lane in London*, *is Frankincense and Juniter to the sweetest Street in this City*. The ancient

cient by-word was (and there is good reason for it) *Il deſt aiſé comme la fange de Paris.* Had I the power of making Proverbs, I would only change *Il deſt aiſé*, into *Il puis*, and make the *by-word* ten times more Orthodoxe. I have ſpoken ſomewhat of the *Fortifications* of this Town, but they are but trifles: the only *Fortune* of the Streets is a ſtrength unto it more powerful, than the ditches or the Bulwark of *St. Martin*, *Moriſon* in his *Itinerary* relateth how the *Citizens* of *Prague in Boheme* were repairing the walls of the Town for fear of the *Turks*: but withal he addeth, that if the ſtink of the Streets kept him not thence, there was aſſurance to be looked for of the walls: I know not now how true it is of that *City*; I am ſure it may be juſtly verified upon this. It was therefore not injudiciouſly ſaid of an *Engliſh Gentleman*, that he thought *Paris* was the *ſtrongeſt Town in Chriſtendome*; for he took ſtrong in that ſenſe, as we do in *England*, when we ſay, ſuch a man hath a ſtrong breath. Theſe things conſidered, it could not but be an infinite happineſs granted by Nature to our *Henry* the fifth, that he never ſtopped his noſe at any ſtink, as our *Chronicles* report of him; otherwiſe in my conſcience he had never been able to have kept his *Court* here. But that which moſt amazeth me is, that in ſuch a perpetuated conſtancy of ſtinks, there ſhould yet be found, ſo large and admirable a variety; a variety ſo ſpecifical and diſtinct, that any *Chymical* noſe (I dare lay my life on it) after two or three perambulations, would hunt out blindfold each ſeveral ſtreet by the ſmell; as perfectly

fectly as another by his eye. A Town of a strange composition: one can hardly live in it in the Summer without poisoning, in the Winter without myring.

For the *Buildings*, they are I confess very handsomly and uniformly set out to the street ward; not unseemly in themselves and very suitable one with another: high and perpendicular, with windowes reaching almost from the top to the bottome, The houses of the new mould in *London* are just after their fashion, wherein the care and designe of our late *Soveraigne King James*, is highly to be magnified. Time and his good beginnings well seconded will make that City nothing inferiour for the beauty and excellency of her structures, to the gallantest of *Europe*. Insomuch that he might truly have said of his *London* what *Augustus* did of his *Rome*. Τὴν Ῥώμην πλινθίνην παρέλαβον, λιθίνην ὑμῖν καταλείπω: as *Dyon* hath it, *Urbem quam lateritiam inveni marmoreum relenquo*. But as *London* now is, the houses of it in the inside are both better contrived, and more richly furnished by farre, than those of *Paris*: the inward beautie and ornaments most commonly following the estate of the builders or owners. Their houses are distinguished by Signes, as with us, and under every signe there is printed in Capital Letters what signe it is: neither is it more than needs. The old shift off, This is a *Cock*, and This is a *Bull*, was never more requisite in the infancy of Painting, than in this City, for so hideously, and so without resemblance to the thing signified, are most of these *Pencill Works*, that I may without danger

danger say of them as *Pſuedalus implautus* doth of the Letter which was written from *Phœnicium* to his young Mr. *Callidorus*: *An abſecro herclé hæc bent quoque gallinæ manus: nam has quidem gallinæ ſcripſit.* If a Hen would not scrape better *Portraictures* in a Dunghil, than they have hanged up before their doors, I would send her to my *Hoſteſſe of Toſtes*, to be executed.

And indeed generally the *Artificers* of *Paris* are as slovenly in their Trades, as in their houses; yet you may find nimble dancers, pretty Fidlers for a toy, and a Taylor that can trick you up after the best and newest fashion. Their Cutlers make such abominable and fearfull knives as would grieve a mans heart to see them; and the Glovers are worse than they: you would imagine by their Gloves, that the hand for which they were made were cut off by the wrest; yet on the other side, they are very perfect at Tooth-picks, Beard-brushes, and (which I hold the most commendable Art of them) the cutting of a Seal. Their Mercers are but one degree removed from a Pedler; such as in *England* we call *Chapmen*; that is, a Pedler with a shop: and for *Goldſmiths* there is little use for them, Glasses there being most in request; both because neat and because cheap: I perswade my self that the two several ranks of shops in *Cheapside*, can show more Plate, and more variety of Mercery warres, good and rich, than three parts of *Paris*. *Merchants* they have but not many; and those which they have not very wealthy. The River ebbs not and floweth, not nigher them than fifteen miles or thereabouts;

and

and the Boats which thence serve the *City*, be no bigger than our Westren Barges. The principal means by which the people do subsist, are the *Court* of the *King*, most time held amongst them, and the great resort of *Advocates and Clients*, to the *Chambers* of *Parliament*: without these two crutches the Town would get a vile halting, and perhaps be scarce able to stand. What the estates of some of the wealthiest Citizens may amount to, I cannot say; yet I dare conjecture it not to be superfluous. The Author of the Book entitled *Les estats du monde* reckoneth it for a great mervail, that some of our *London Merchants* should be worth 100000. *Crownes*: we account that estate amongst us not to be so wonderful; and may hence safely conclude, that they which made a Prodegy of so little, are not much worth themselves.

If you beleeve their apparrel, you may perhaps be perswaded otherwise, that questionless [illegible]eak-eth no less than *Millions*; though like it is, that when they are in their best clothes, they are in the *middle of their estate*. But concernig the ridiculous bravery of the poor *Parisian*, take along with you this story. Upon our first coming into *Paris*, there came to visit a *German Lord*, whom we met a Ship-board, a couple of *French Gallants*, his acquaintance: the one of them (for I did not much observe the other) had a suit of *Turkey Grogram* dublet with Taffaty, cut with long slashes and carbonadoes after the *French* fashion, and belayed with bugle lace; through the opening of his dublet appeared his shirt, of the purest

pureſt Holland, and wrought with curious needle-work; the points of his waſt and knees all edged with a ſilver edging; his Garters Roſes and Hat-band ſutable to his points; a Beaver hat, and a pare of ſilk Stokings: his Cloak alſo of *Turkey Grogram* cut upon black *Taffaty*: This *Lord* (for who would have dared to gueſſe him other) applied himſelf to me, and perceiving my ignorance in the *French*, accoſted me in *Latine*, which he ſpake indifferently well. After ſome diſcourſe he took notice of mine eyes which were then ſore and ſea ſick; and promiſed me, if I would call on him at his lodging the next morning, to give me a water which ſuddenly would reſtore them to their ſtrength and vigor; I humbled thanked his *Lordſhip*, for ſuch an ineffable and immerited favour, in the beſt complement and greateſt abaiſance I could deviſe. It was not for nought thought I, that our *Engliſh* extoll ſo much, the humanity of this people: Nay I began to accuſe report of envy, as not having publiſhed the one half of their graces and affabilities. *Quantiſtum enim virtutum iſtarum famâ acceperam.* And thus taking my leave of his *Honour*, I greedily expected the next morning: the morning come, and the hour of viſitting his *Lordſhip* almoſt at hand, I ſent a Servant to fetch a *Barbar* to combe me, and make me neat, as not knowing what occaſion I might have of ſeeing his *Lady*, or his Daughters: upon the return of the meſſenger, preſently followed *His Altitude*, and bidding me ſit down in the chair, he diſburdened one of his pockets, (*quis hoc credat niſi ſit proteſte vetuſtas*) of a caſe

a case of instruments, and the other of a bundle of linnen. Thus accomodated he falleth to work about me, to the earning of *a quart descu*: in my life I had never more ado to hold in my laughter: and certainly had not an anger or vexation at mine own folly, in casting away so much humble rhetorick the night before upon him, somewhat troubled me, I should either have laught him out of his fine suit, or have broke my heart in the restraint, *Quid Domini facient, audent cum talia fures.* If a *Barber* may thus be taken in suspicion for a *Lord*: no doubt but a *Mercer* may be accused for a *Marquesse.*

Chap. II.

Paris *divided into four parts. The* Faulx Bourgs *in general. Of the* Pest house. *The* Faulx Bourg, *and* Abbey *of St.* Germain. *The* Queene *Mothers house there: her purpose never to reside in it. Of the Town and Government of* Paris. *The Provost of* Merchands, *and his Authority. The* Armes *of the Towne. The Grand Castellet. The Arcenal. The place Royall,* &c. *The Vicounty of* Paris, *and the Provosts seven Daughters.*

THeywhich write of *Lusitania*, divide it into three parts; *viz. Ulteriorum*, lying beyond

Duerus North. Citeriorem, lying from *Tagus*, south; and *Interamnem*, situate betwixt both the Rivers. *Paris* is seated just as that province, and may in a manner admit the same division; for the River of *Seine*, doth there disperse it self, that it hath divided the *French Metropolis* into three parts also, *viz. Citeriorem* lying on this side the River which they call *la Ville*, *the Towne*; *Ulteriorem*, lying beyond the further branch of it, which they call *l'universitè*; and *Interamnem* scituate between both the streames, in a little Island which they call *la Cetè*. To these adde the *Suburbs*, or (as they call them) the *Faulx Bourgs*: and you have in all four parts of *Paris*.

These *Faulx bourgs* are not incorporated into the Town, or joyned together with it, as the *Suburbs* of *London* are unto that *Citie*: they stand severed from it a pretty distance, and appear what indeed they are, a distinct body from it. For the most part the houses in them are old and ruinous; yet the *Faulx bourg* of *St. Jacques* is in pretty good fashion, and the least unsightly of them all except *St. Germains*. The *Faulx bourg* of *St. Martin* also hath somewhat to commend it, which is, that the great *Pest house* built by *Henry* the fourth, is within the precincts of it. A House built quadrangular-wise, very large and capacious; and seemeth to such as stand afarre off it (for it is not safe venturing nigh it or within it) to be more like the *Pallace of a King*, then the *Kings Pallace* it self. But the *principallest* of all the *Suburbs* is that of *St. Germain*, a place lately repaired, full of divers stately houses, and in bigness little inferi-

our to *Oxford*. It took name from the *Abbey* of *St. Germain*, seated in it, built by *Childebert* the son of *Clovis*, *Anno* 542. in the honour of *St. Vincint*. Afterward it got the name of *St. Germain*, a *Bishop* of *Paris*, whose body was there buried, and at whose instigation it had formerly been founded. The number of the *Monks* was enlarged to the number of 120. by *Charles* the *bald*, (he began his raigne *Anno* 841.) and so they continue till this day. The present *Abbot* is *Henry* of *Bourbon*, *Bishop* of *Metz*, base son unto *Henry* the fourth: He is by his place *Lord* of all the goodly Suburbs, hath the power of levying taxes upon his Tennants, and to him accrew all the profits of the *great fayre* holden here every *February*.

The principall house in it, is that of the *Queen Mother*, not yet fully built; the *Gallery* of it, which possesseth all the right side of the square, is perfectly finished, and said to be a most royall and majestical piece: the further part also opposite to the gate is finished, so farre forth as concerning the outside and strength of it: the ornamentall part and trapping of it, being not yet added: when it is absolutely consummate, if it hold proportion with the two other sides both within and without, it will be a *Pallace* for the elegancy and politeness of the fabrick, not followed in *Europe*. A *Pallace* answerable to the greatness of her mind that built it; yet it is by divers conjectured, that her purpose is never to reside there; for which cause the building goeth slowly forward: for when upon the death of her great *Privado*, the

Marquiſs d' Ancre (on whom ſhe beſtowed much of her grace and favour) ſhe was removed to *Blois*, thoſe of the oppoſite *faction* in the *Court*, get ſo ſtrongly into the favour of the *King*, that not without great ſtruggling of thoſe of her party, and the hazard of two Civil Warres, ſhe obtained her former neerneſs to his *Majeſty*. She can ſee by this what to truſt to, ſhould her abſence leave the *Kings* mind any way prepared for new impreſſions. Likely therefore it is, that ſhe will rather chooſe to leave her fine houſe unhabited (further than on occaſions for a Banquet) then give the leaſt opportunity to ſtagger her greatneſs. This houſe is called *Luxembourg Pallace*, as being built in a place of an old houſe, belonging to the *Dukes* of that *Province*. The ſecond houſe of note in this Suburb, is that of the *Prince* of *Condé*, to whom it was given by the *Queene Mother*, in the firſt year of her *Regency*.

The *Town* of *Paris* is that part of it which lyeth on this ſide of the hithermoſt branch of the *Seine* towards *Picardie*: what was ſpoken before in the general, hath its reference to this particular, whether it concernes the ſweetneſs of the ſtreets, the manner of the building, the furniture of the Artificer, or the like. It conteineth in it thirteen *Pariſh Churches*, viz. 1. *St. Germaine l' Auxerre* 2. *St. Euſtace*. 3. *les St. Innocents*. 4. *St. Sauveur*. 5. *St. Nicholas des Champs*. 6. *le Sepulchre*. 7. *St. Jacques de la boucherie*. 8. *St. Joſſe*. 9. *St. Merey*. 10. *St. Jean*. 11. *St. Gervaſe et St. Protaſſe*. 12. *St. Paul*. 13. *St. Jean de ronde*. It hath alſo in it ſeven Gates, ſc. 1. *St. Anthony* up-

on

on the ſide of the River near unto the *Arcenal*. 2. *Porte du Temple*. 3. *St. Martin*. 4. *St. Denis*. 5. *Porte Montmartre*. 6. St. *Honore*. 7. *Porte neuſue*; ſo called becauſe it was built ſince the others, which joyneth hard by the *Tuilleries* the Garden of the *Louure*.

The *principall Governour* of *Paris*, as alſo of the whole *Iſle* of *France*, is the *Duke* of *Mont-baſon*, who hath held the office ever ſince the year, 1619. when it was ſurrendred by *Luines*, but he little medleth with the City. The particular Governours of it are the two *Provoſts*; the one called *le Provoſt de Paris*, the other *le Provoſt des Metchands*: The *Provoſt* of *Paris*, determineth all cauſes between Citizen and Citizen, whether they be crimical or civil: the office is for term of life: the place of judgement the *Grand Caſtellet*. The preſent *Provoſt* is called *Mr. Sequſe*, and is by birth of the *Nobilitie*; as all which are honoured with this office muſt be: He hath as his Aſſiſtants three *Leiutenants*: the *Leiutenant Criminal*, which judgeth in matters of life and death: the *Leiutenant Civil*, which deſideth cauſes of debt or treſpaſſe between party and party: and the *Leiutenant perticulier*, who ſupplyeth their ſeveral places in their abſence. There are alſo neceſſarily required to this Court, the *Procareur* and the *Advocate*, or the *Kings Solicitor* and *Atturney*: twelve *Counſellers*, and of under Officers more than enough. This Office is ſaid to have been erected in the time of *Lewis* the Son of *Charles* the great. In matters criminal there is an *Appeale* admitted from hence to the *Attornelle*. In matters *Civil*, if

the summe exceed the value of 250. *Livres* to the great Chamber, or *le grand Chambre* in the Court of *Parliament*.

The *Provost* of the *Merchands* and his authority was first instituted by *Philip Augustus*, who began his raigne *Anno* 1290. His office is to conserve the liberties and indulgences granted to the *Merchants*, and *Artificers* of the *Citie*, to have an eye over the sales of *Wine*, *Corn*, *Wood*, *Coal*, &c. and to impose Taxes on them: to keep the keyes of the Gates, to give the watch word in time of warre: to grant *Passports* to such as are willing to leave the Town, and the like. There are also four other Officers joyned unto him, *Eschevins* they call them, who also carry a great sway in the *Citie*. There are moreover *Assistants* to them in their proceedings; yea the *Kings Solicitor*, (or *Procureur*) and twenty four *Counsellers*. To compare this *Corporation* with that of *London*: the *Provost* is as the *Mayor*: the *Eschevins* as the *Shiriffs*: the twenty four *Counsellers*, as the *Aldermen*: and the *Procurear* as the *Recorder*. I omit the under Officers whereof here there is no scarcity. The place of their meeting is called *l'hostelle de ville*, or the *Guild Hall*. The present *Provost*, *Mr. de Grieux*; his habit is also that of the *Eschevins* and *Counsellers*; halfred, half sky coloured, the *Citie* Leveries with an Hood of the same.

This *Provost* is as much above the other in power, as men which are loved commonly are above those which are feared. This *Provost* the people willingly, yea sometimes factiously obey; as the

Con-

Conservator of their Liberties: the other they only dread as the *Judges* of their lives; and the Tyrants of their estates. To shew the power of this *Provost* both for and with the people against their *Princes*, you may please to take notice of two instances, for the people, against *Philip devalois* *Anno* 1349. when the said *King* desiring an impost of one *livre* in five *Crownes*, upon all wares sold in *Paris*, (for his better managing his warres against the *Englisb*) could obtain it but for one year onely; and that not without especial Letters reservall, that it should no way incommodate their priviledges: which the people *Anno* 1357. when *King John* was prisoner in *England*, and *Charles* the *Daulphine*, afterwards the fifth of that name, laboured his ransome among the *Parisiens*; for then *Steven Marcell* attended by the vulgar *Citizens*, not onely brake open the *Daulphines* Chamber, but slew *John de Conflans*, and *Robert* of *Chermont*, two *Marshalls* of *France* before his face. Nay to adde yet further insolencies to this, he took his parti-coloured hood off his head, putting it on the *Daulphins*, and all that day wore the *Daulphines* hat being a brown black, *pour signal de sa Dictateur*, as the token of his *Dictatorship*. And which is more than all this, he sent the *Daulphin* cloath to make him a Cloak and Hood of the *Cities Livorie*, and compelled him to avow the *Massacre* of his Servants above named, as done by his command: Horrible insolencies! *Quam miserum est eum hæc impunè facere potuisse*, as *Tullie of Marc. Antonius*.

The Arms of the Town, as alſo of the Corporation of the *Provoſt* and *Eſchevins* are *Gules*, a Ship Argent, a Cheiſe poudred with *Flower de Luces Or*. The ſeat or place of their Aſſemblies is called (as we ſaid) *Hoſtel de Ville* or the *Guild-hall*. It was built or rather finiſht by *Francis* the firſt, *Anno* 1533. and ſince beautified and repaired by *Francis Miron* once *Provoſt des Merchands*, and afterwards privy *Counſellor* to the King. It ſtandeth on one ſide of the *Greve*, which is the publike place of the Execution, and is built quadrangular-wiſe, all of free and poliſhed ſtone, evenly and orderly laid together. You aſcend by thirty or forty ſteps fair and large, before you come to the quadrate, and thence by ſeveral ſtairs into the ſeveral rooms and chambers of it, which are very neatly contrived and richly furniſhed. The grand *Chaſtelet* is ſaid to have been built by *Julian* the *Apoſtata*, at ſuch time as he was Governour of *Gaul*. It was afterwards new built by *Philip Auguſtus*, and ſince repaired by *Lewis* the twelfth. In which time of repairation the *Provoſt* of *Paris* kept his Court in the Palace of the *Louure*. To ſight it is not very graceful, what it may be within I know not. Certain it is, that it looketh far more like a *Priſon* (for which uſe it alſo ſerveth) than a Town Hall or ſeat of judgement.

In this part of *Paris*, called *la Ville* or the *Town*, is the *Kings Arcenal or Magazin* of War. It carrieth not any great face of majeſty on the outſide; neither indeed is it neceſſary: Such places are moſt beautiful without when they are moſt terrible within. It was begun by *Henry* the ſecond, finiſhed

finished by *Charles* the ninth, and since augmented by Mr. *Rhosme* great *Master* of the *Artillery*. It is said to contain an hundred field peices and their Carriage; and also armour sufficient for ten thousand Horses, and fifty thousand Foot. In this part also of *Paris* is that excellent pile of building, called the *Place Royal*, built partly at the charges, and partly at the encouragement of *Henry* the fourth. It is built after the form of a *Quadrangle*, every side of the square being in length seventy two fathoms; the materials brick of divers colours, which make it very pleasant, though less durable. It is cloystered round just after the fashion of the *Royall Exchange* in *London*; the walks being paved under foot. The houses of it are very fair and large, every one having its garden and other outlets. In all they are thirty six, nine on a side, and seemed to be sufficiently capable of a great retinue. The *Ambassadour* for the *State of Venice* lying in one of them. It is scituate in that place, whereas formerly the solemn tiltings were performed. A place famous and fatal for the death of *Henry* the second, who was here slain with the splinter of a Launce, as he was running with the *Earl of Mountgomery*, *a Scottish* man. A sad and heavy accident.

To conclude this discourse of the *Ville* or *Town* of *Paris*, I must wander a little out of it; because the power and command of the Provost saith that it must be so: For his authority is not confined within the Town, he hath seven Daughters on which he may exercise it, *Les sept filles de la Provaste de Paris*, as the *French* call them. These

seven

seven Daughters are seven Bayliwicks comprehended within the *Vicointe of Paris*: Viz. 1. *Poissy.* 2. *St. Germanenlay.* 3. *Tornon.* 4. *Teroiene Brie.* 5. *Corbeil.* 6, *Montherrie*: and the 7. *Gennesseen France.* Over these his jurisdiction is extended, though not as *Provost* of *Paris*. Here he commandeth and giveth judgement as *Leiutenant Civil* to the *Duke* of *Mont-bazon*, or the supreme Governour of *Paris* and the Isle of *France* for the time being; yet this Leiutenancy being an Office perpetually annexed to the *Provostship*, is the occasion that the Bayliwicks above named are called, *Les sept filles de la Provaste.*

Chap. VI.

The Universitie of Paris, *and Founders of it. Of the Colledges in general: Marriage when permitted to the Rectors of them: The small maintenance allowed to Schollars in the Universities of* France. *The great Colledge at* Tholoza. *Of the Colledge of the* Sorbone *in particular, That and the House of Parliament the cheif bulwarks of the French liberty. Of the policy and government of the University. The Rector and his precedency. The disordered life of the Schollars there being. An Apology for* Oxford *and* Cambridge. *The priviledges of the Schollars: Theer Degrees, &c.*

This

THis part of *Paris* which lieth beyond the furthermost branch of the *Seine* is called the Universitty. It is little inferior to the *Town* for bigness, and less superior to it in sweetness or opulency; whatsoever was said of the whole in general, was intended to this part also as well as the others. All the learning in it being not able to free it from those inconveniencies wherewith it is distressed: It containeth in it onely six parish *Churches*, the paucity whereof is supplied by the multitude of religious houses which are in it. These six *Churches* are called by the names, *St. Nicholas du Chardomere.* 2. *St. Estienne* at this time in repairing. 3. *St. Severin.* 4. *St. Bennoist.* 5. *St. Andre:* and the 6. *St. Cosme.* It hath also eight *Gates*; 1. *Porte de Nesse*, by the water side, over against the *Louure.* 2. *Porte de Bucy.* 3. *St. Germain.* 4. *St. Michell.* 5. *St. Jacques.* 6. *St. Marcell.* 7. *St. Victor:* and the 8. *Porte de la Tornelle.* It was not accounted as a distinct member of *Paris*, or as the third part of it, until the year 1304. at which time the *Scholars* having lived formerly dispersed about the *City*, began to settle themselves together in this place, and so to become a peculiar *Corporation.*

The *Universitty* was founded by *Charles* the great, *Anno* 791. at the perswosion of *Alcuine* an *Oxford* man, and the *Scholar Venerable Bede*, who brought with him three of his condisciples to be the first *Readers* there. Their names were *Rabbanus Maurus*, *John Duns* surnamed *Scotus*, and *Claudius*, who was also called *Clement.* To these four doth the *Universitty* of *Paris* owe its original and

first

first rudiments. Neither was this the first time that *England* had been the *School-master* unto *France*: we lent them not onely their first *Doctors* in *Divinity* and *Philosophy*; but from us also did they receive the mysteries of their Religion when they were Heathens. *Disciplina in Britannia reperta* (saith *Julius Cæsar Com.* 6.) *atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur*: an authority not to be questioned by any but by a *Cæsar*. Learning thus new born at *Paris* continued not long in any full vigor; for almost three hundred years it was fallen into a deadly trance, and not here onely, but almost through the greatest part of *Europe*. *Anno* 1160. or thereabouts, *Peter Lambard Bishop of Paris*, the first Author of Scholastical Divinity; and by his followers called the *Master* of the *Sentences*, received it here in this, by the favour and incouragement of *Lewis* the seventh. In his own house were the *Lectures* first read: and after as the number of *Students* did encrease, in sundry other parts of the Town. *Colledges* they had none till the year 1304. the Schollars sojourning in the houses of the Citizens, accordingly as they could bargain for their entertainment.

But *Anno* 1304. *Joan Queen of Navarre* Wife to *Philip* the fair, built that Colledge, which then and ever since hath been called the *Colledge* of *Navarre*; and it is at this day the faireſt and largest of all the rest: *Non ibi consistunt exempla ubi cæperunt, sed intenuem accepta tramitem latissima ex vagandi viam sibi faciunt*, as *Velleius*: This good example ended not in twenty it self: but invited diverse others of the *French Kings* and people to the

the erecting of convenient places of ſtudy: ſo that in proceſs of time *Paris* became enriched with fifty two *Colledges*: ſo many it ſtill hath, though the odd fourty are little ſerviceable to *Learning*: For in twelve onely of them is there any publike reading, either in *Divinity* or *Philoſophy*. Theſe twelve are the *Colledges* of 1. *Harcourte.* 2. *Caillve*, or the *petit Sorbonne.* 3. *Liſeuer*, or *Cerovium.* 4. *Boncorrte.* 5. *Montague.* 6. *Les Marche.* 7. *Navarre.* 8. *De le Cardinal de Noyne.* 9. *Le Pleſſis.* 10. *De Beavis.* 11. *La Sorbonne.* 12. *De Clermont*, or the *Colledge* of the *Jeſuits*. There are alſo publike readings in the houſes of the four Orders of *Mendicant Friers*: *Viz.* the *Carmelites*, *the Auguſtines*, *the Franciſcans*, or *Cordeliers*, and the *Dominicans*. The other *Colledges* are deſtinate to other uſes: That of *Arras* is converted to an houſe of *Engliſh Fugitives*: and there is another of them hard by the gate of *Jacques* employed for the reception of the *Iriſh*: in others of them there is Lodging allotted out to *Students*, who for ther inſtruction have reſort to ſome of the twelve *Colledges* above mentioned.

In each of theſe *Colledges* there is a *Rector*, moſt of whoſe places yeild them but ſmall profit. The greateſt commodity which accreweth to them is raiſed from Chamber-rents: their Preferments being much of a nature with that of a *Principal* of an *Hall in Oxford*: or that of a *Treaſurer* in an *Inne of Chancery* in *London*. At the firſt erection of their *Colledges* they were all prohibited marriage, though I ſee little reaſon for it: There can hardly come any

any inconvenience or damage by it unto the *Scholars* under their charge, by assuming of leases into their own hands, for I think few of them have any to be so embezelled: *Anno* 1520. or thereabouts it was permitted to such of them as were *Doctors* in *Physick*; that they might marry; the *Cardinal* of *Tournoville*, *Legate in France* giving to them that indulgence. Afterwards in the year 1534. the *Doctors* of the *Laws* petitioned the *University* for the like privilege, which in fine was granted to them: and confirmed by the *Court of Parliament*. The *Doctors of Divinity* are the onely *Academicals* now barred from it, and that not as *Doctors* but as *Preists*. These *Colledges* for their building are very inelegant and generally little beholding to the curiosity of the Artificer. So confused and so ill proportioned in respect of our *Colledges in England*; as *Exeter in Oxford* was some twelve years since in comparison of the rest; or as the two *Temples in London* now are in reference to *Lincolns Inne*. The Revenues of them are sutable to the *Fabricks*, as mean and curtailed: I could not learn of any *Colledge* that hath greater allowances than that of the *Sorbonne*, and how small a crime that is, we shall tell you presently. But this is not the poverty of the *University of Paris* onely, all *France* is troubled with the sutle want of encouragements in learning: Neither are the *Academies of Germany* in any happier estate; which occasioned *Erasmus* that great light of his times, having been here in *England*, and seen *Cambridge*, to write thus to one of his *Dutch* acquaintance: *Vnum Collegium Cantabrigiense (confidenter dicam) superat*

perat vel decem noſtra. It holdeth good in the neatneſs and graces of the buildings, in which ſenſe he ſpake it, but it had been more undeniable had he intended it of the *Revennes.* Yet I was given to underſtand, that at *Tholoza* there was amongſt twenty *Colledges* one of an eſpecial quality, and ſo indeed it is if rightly conſidered. There are ſaid to be in it twenty *Students* places (or *Fellowſhips* as we call them) The *Students* at their entrance are to lay down in *depoſito* ſix thouſand *Florens* or *Liures*, to ſtay there onely ſix years; in the mean time to enjoy the profits of the Houſe, & at the 6, years end to have his 6000. *Liures* paid unto him by Succeſſor: *Vendere jure poteſt, emerat ille prius.* A pretty Market.

The *Colledge* of *Sorbonni* (which indeed is the glory of this *Univerſity*) was built by one *Robert de Sorbonne* of the Chamber to *Lewis* the ninth, of whom he was very well beloved. It conſiſteth meerly of *Doctors of Divinity*: neither can any of another profeſſion, nor any of the ſame profeſſion, not ſo graduated, be admitted unto it. At this time their number is about ſeventy, their allowance a pint of Wine (their pint being but a thoughtleſs than our quart) and a certain quantity of bread daily. Meat they have none allowed them, unleſs they pay for it; but they pay not ſo much: for five *Sols* (which amounteth to ſix pence *Engliſh*) a day they challenge a competency of fleſh or fiſh to be ſerved to them at their Chambers. Theſe *Doctors* have the ſole power & authority in conferring degrees in *Divinity*: The *Rector* and other Officers in the Univerſity having nothing to do in it. To them

alone

alone belongeth the examination of the *Students* in that faculty: the approbation and bestowing of the honours: and to their *Lectures* do all such assiduously repair as are that way minded. All of them in their turns discharge this office of reading and that by six in a day, three of them making good the Pulpit in the forenoon, and as many in the afternoon. These *Doctors* also are accounted together with the *Parliament of Paris*, the principal pillars of the *French* liberty; whereof indeed they are exceeding jealous, as well in matters *Ecclesiastical* as *Civil*. When *Gerson Chancellor of Paris* (he died *Anno* 1429.) had published a book in approbation of the *Council* of *Constance*, where it was enacted, that the authority of the *Council* was greater than that of the *Pope*; the *Sorbonne Doctors* declared that also to be their doctrine. Afterwards when *Lewis* the eleventh, to gratifie *Pope Pius* the second, purposed to abolish the force of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, the *Sorbonnists* in the behalf of the Church *Gallican* and the *University of Paris magnis obsistebant animis* (saith *Sleidan* in his Commentary) *& a papâ provocabant ad Concilium*. The *Council* unto which they appealed was that of *Basil*, where that *Sanction* was made: So that by this appeal they verified their former *Thesis*, that the *Council* was above the *Pope*. And not long since, *Anno*, *viz.* 1613. casually meeting with a Book written by *Becanus*, entituled, *Controversia Anglicana de potestate Regis & Papæ*, they called an Assembly and condemned it. For though the Main of it were against the power and supremacy of the *King of England*, yet did it reflect also on the authority

thority of the Pope over the *Christian Kings* by the by; which occasioned the sentence. So jealous are they of the least circumstances, in which the immunity of their Nation may be endangered.

As for the government of the *University*, it hath for its cheif *Director*, a *Rector*, with a *Chancellor*, four *Procurators* or *Proctors*, and as many others whom they call his *Intrantes* to assist him; besides the *Regents*. Of these the *Regents* are such *Masters* of the *Arts*, who are by the consent of the rest selected to read the publike *Lectures* of *Logick* and *Philosophy*. Their name they derive *a regendo, eo quod in artibus rexerint*. These are divided into four Nations: *Viz.* 1. The *Norman*. 2. The *Picard*. 3. The *Germain*. 4. The *French*. Under the two first are comprehended the *Students* of those several *Provinces*; under the third the *Students* of all *Forrain Nations*, which repair hither for the attainment of knowledge. It was heretofore called *Natio Anglica*: but the *English* being thought unworthy of the honour, because of their separation from the *Church* of *Rome*, the name and credit of it was given to the *Germains*. That of the *French* is again subdivided into two parts; that which is immediately within the *Dioces* of *Paris*, and the rest of *Gallia*: these four Nations (for notwithstanding the subdivision abovementioned, the *French Nation* is reckoned but as one) choose yearly four *Proctors* or *Procurators*, so called, *Quia negotia nationis suæ procurant*. They choose also four other *Officers*, whom they call *les Intrants*, in whose power there remaineth the delegated au-

thority of their several *Nations*. And here it is to be observed, that in the French Nation the Procurator and Intrant is one year of the *Diocess of Paris*, and the following year of the rest of *France*, the reason why that *Nation* is subdivided: These four *Intrants* thus named have amongst them the election of their *Rector*, who is their supreme Magistrate.

The present *Rector* is Mr. T*arrisius* of the *Colledge of Harcourte*, a Master of the *Arts*, for a *Doctor* is not capable of the office. The honour lasteth onely three moneths; which time expired, the *Intrants* proceed to a new election; though oftentimes it happeneth, that the same hath the lease of his authority renewed. Within the confines of the University he taketh place next after the *Princes* of the *Bloud*: and at the publike exercises of *Learning* before the *Cardinals*; otherwise he giveth them the precedency. But to *Bishops* and *Arch-bishops* he will not grant it upon any occasion. It was not two moneths before my being there, that there happened a shrewd controversie about it. The *King* had then summoned an assembly of twenty five *Bishops* of the *Provinces* adjoyning, to consult about some *Church* affairs; and they had chosen the *Colledge* of *Sorbonne* to be their *Senate-House*: When the first day of their sitting came, a *Doctor* of the *House* being appointed to preach before them, began his *Oration* with *Reverendissime Rector & vos Amplissimi Prasulei*. Here the *Arch-bishop* of *Roven*, a man of an high spirit interrupted him, and commanded him to invert his stile. He obeyed, and presently the *Rector*

ctor riseth up with *Impono tibi silentium*, which is an *Injunction* within the compass of his power. Upon this, the *Preacher* being tongue-tied, the controversie grew hot between the *Bishops* and the *Rector*, both parties very eagerly pleading their own priority. All the morning being almost spent in this altercation; a *Cardinal* wiser than the rest, desired that their question for that time might be laid aside, and that the *Rector* would be pleased to permit the *Doctor* to deliver his Sermon, beginning it without any *Præludium* at all. To which request the *Rector* yeilded; and so the contention at that time was ended.

But *Salus Academiæ non vertitur in istis.* It were more for honour and profit of the *University*, if the *Rector* would leave of to be so mindful of his place, and look a little to his office; for certainly the eye and utmost diligence of a *Magistrate* was never wanting more; and yet more necessary in this place. *Penelopes* suiters never behaved themselves so insolently in the house of *Ulisses*, as the *Academicks* here do in the houses and streets of *Paris*.

Nos numerus sumus & fruges consumere nati
Sponsi Penelopes, nebulones, Alcinoque, &c.

Was never the mouth of any of these; when you hear of their behaviour you would think you were in *Turkey*, and that these men were the *Janizaries*: For an Angel given among them to drink, they will arrest whom you shall appoint them; double the money, and they will break open his house, and

raviſh him into Gaole; I have not heard that they can be hired to a murder, though nothing be more common amongſt them than killing, except it be ſtealing. Witneſs thoſe many Carcaſſes whic hare found dead in a morning, whom a deſire to ſecur themſelves, and make reſiſtance to their pillages, hath (onely) made earth again. Nay, which is moſt horrible, they have regulated their villanous practiſes into a *Common-wealth*, and have their *Captains* and other Officers, who command them in their night walks and diſpoſe of their purchaſes. To be a *Gypſie*, and a *Scholar* of *Paris* are almoſt *Synonime's*. One of their *Captains* had in one week (for no longer would the gallows let him enjoy his honour) ſtoln no fewer than eighty Cloaks: *Nam fuit Autolici tam piceata manus?* For theſe thefts being apprehended, he was adjudged to the wheel; but becauſe the *Judges* were informed, that during the time of his raign he had kept the hands of himſelf and his company unpolluted with blood, he had the favour to be hanged. In a word, this ungoverned rabble (whom to call *Scholars* were to prophane the title) omit no outrages or turbulent miſdemeanours which poſſibly can be, or were ever known to be committed in a place, which conſiſteth meerly of priviledge and nothing of ſtatute.

I could heartily wiſh, that thoſe, who are ſo ill conceited of their own two *Univerſities*, *Oxford and Cambridge*, and accuſe them of diſſolutions in their behaviour, would either ſpend ſome time in the *Schools* beyond Seas, or enquire what news abroad of thoſe which have ſeen them, then would they

they doubtleſs ſee their own errors and correct them; then would they admire the regularity and civility of thoſe places, which before they condemned of debauchedneſs: then would they eſteem thoſe places as the ſeminaries of modeſty and vertue, which they now account as the nurſeries onely of an impudent rudeneſs. Such an opinion I am ſure, ſome of the *Ariſtarchi* of theſe dayes have lodged in their breaſts concerning the miſgoverning of our *Athens*. Perhaps a Kinſman of theirs hath played the unthrift equally of his time and his money: Hence their malice to it, and their invectives againſt it. Thus of old.

——— *Pallas exurere claſſem*
Argivum atque ipſos potuit ſubmergere ponto
Unius ob noxam & furias Aiacis Oilei.

An injuſtice more unpardonable than the greateſt ſin of the *Univerſities*. But I wrong a good cauſe with an unneceſſary patronage, yet ſuch is the peccant humour of ſome, that they know not how to expiate the follies of ſome one, but with the calumny and diſpraiſe of all. An unmanly weakneſs, and yet many poſſeſſed with it. I know it is impoſſible, that in a place of youth and liberty, ſome ſhould not give occaſion of offence. The *Ark*, wherein there were eight perſons onely, was not without one *Canaan*: And of the twelve which *Chriſt* had choſen one was a *Devil*. It were then above a miracle, if amongſt ſo full a Cohort of young Souldiers none ſhould forſake the *Enſign* of his *General*: He notwithſtanding that ſhould give

the imputation of cowardiſe to the whole Army, cannot but be accounted malitious or peeviſh. But let all ſuch as have evil will at *Sion* live unregarded, and die untemembred for want of ſome *Sciolar* to write their *Epitaph*. Certainly a man not wedded to envy and a ſpiteful vexation of ſpirit, upon a due examination of our *Lycæa*, and a Compariſon of them abroad with thoſe abroad, cannot but ſay, and that juſtly, *Non habent Academiæ Anglicanæ pares, niſi ſeipſas.*

The principal cauſe of the rudeneſs and diſorders in *Paris* had been cheifly occaſioned by the great priviledges wherewith the *Kings* of *France* intended the furtherance and ſecurity of *Learning*. Having thus let them get the bridle in their own hands, no marvel if they grow ſick with an uncontrouled licentiouſneſs. Of theſe priviledges ſome are, that no *Scholars* goods can be ſeized upon for the payments of his debts: that none of them ſhould be liable to any taxes or impoſitions: (a *Royal* immunity to ſuch as are acquainted with *France*;) that they might carry and recarry their *utenſiles* without the leaſt moleſtation: that they ſhould have the *Proveſt of Paris* to be the *Keeper* and *Defender* of their *Liberties*, who is therefore ſtiled, *Le conſervateur des priviledges Royaux de le Univerſite de Paris*, &c.

One greater priviledge they have yet than all theſe; which is their ſoon taking of degrees. Two years ſeeth them both novices in the *Arts*, and *Maſters* of them: ſo that enjoying by their degrees an abſolute freedom, before the follies and violencies of youth are broken in them, they become

come so unruly and insolent as I have told you. These degrees are conferred on them by the *Chancellor*, who seldom examineth further of them than his *Fees*. Those paid, he presenteth them to the *Rector*, and giveth them their *Letters Patents* sealed with the *Universities* seal, which is the main part of the Creation. He also setteth the Seal to the *Authentical Letters* (for so they term them) of such whom the *Sorbonists* have passed for *Doctors*. The present *Chancellor* is named *Petrus de Piere Vive*, *Doctor of Divinity*, and *Chanoin* of the *Church* of *Nostre-dame* (as also are all they which enjoy that *Office*.) He is chosen by the *Bishop* of *Paris*, and taketh place of any under that dignity. But of this ill managed *University* enough, if not too much.

Chap. VII.

The City of Paris *in the place of old* Lutetia: *The bridges which joyn it to the Town, and University: King* Henries *statua*: Alexanders *injurious policy. The Church and Revenues of* Nostre-Dame. *The holy Water there, the original making and vertue of it. The Lamp before the Altar. The heathenishness of both customs.* Paris *best seen from the top of the Church: The great Bell there never rung but in time of Thunder. The baptizing of Bels. The grand*

Hospital and decency of it. The place Dauphin: *the holy Chappel and Reliques there. What the Ancients thought of Reliques. The Exchange. The little Chastelet. A transition to the Parliament.*

THe *Isle* of *Paris* commonly called *Isle de palais* seated between the *University* and the Town, is that part of the whole, which is called *la Cite* the *City*: The *Epitome* and abstract of all *France*: It is the sweetest and best ordered part of *Paris*; and certainly if *Paris* may be thought the eye of the *Realm*, this *Island* may equally be judged the *apple* of the eye. It is by much the lesser part, and by as much the richer, by as much the decenter, and affordeth more variety of delightful objects than both the other. It containeth an equal number of parish *Churches* with the *Town*, and double the number with the *University*. For it hath in it thirteen *Churches* parochial: *Viz.* 1. *La Magdalene.* 2. *St. Geniveue des Ardents.* 3. *St. Christofer.* 4. *St. Pierre aux boeafs.* 5. *St. Marine.* 6. *St. Landry.* 7. *St. Symphoryan.* 8. *St. Denis de la charite.* 9. *St. Bartellemie.* 10. *St. Pierre des Assis.* 11. *St. Croix.* 12. *St. Marcial.* 13 *St. German le Vieux.* Seated it is in the middle of the *Seine*, and in that place where stood the old *Lutetia*. *Labienus cum quatuor legionibus* (saith *Julius Cæsar* 7. *Comment.*) *Lutetiam proficiscitur, id est oppidum Parisiorum positum in medio flumine Sequanæ.* It is joyned to the *Main Land*, and the other parts of this *French Metropolis* by six

bridges.

bridges, two of wood and four of ſtone. The ſtone *bridges* are, 1. *Le petit pont*, *a bridge* which certainly deſerveth the name. 2. *Le pont de Noſtre-Dame*, which is all covered with two goodly ranks of houſes, and thoſe adorned with portly and antick imagery. 3. *Le pont St. Michell*, (ſo called, becauſe it leadeth towards the gate of *St. Michell*) hath alſo on each ſide a beautiful row of houſes all of the ſame faſhion ſo exactly, that but by their ſeveral doors you could ſcarce think them to be ſeveral houſes. They are all new, as being built in the raign of this preſent King, whoſe Armes is engraven over every door of them. The fourth and laſt *bridge* is that which ſtandeth at the end of the *Iſle* next the *Louure*, and covereth the waters now united into one ſtream. It was begun to be built by *Katherine of Medices the Queen Mother*, *Anno* 1578. her Son *King Henry* the third laying the firſt ſtone of it. The finiſhing of it was reſerved to *Henry* the fourth, who as ſoon as he had ſettled his affairs in this *Town*, preſently ſent the workmen about it. In the end of it, where it joyneth to the *Town*, there is a *Water-houſe*, which by artificial engines forceth up waters from a freſh ſpring riſing from under the *River*, done at the charges of the *King* alſo. In the midſt of it is the *Statua* of the ſaid *Henry* the fourth all in braſs, mounted upon his barbed Steed of the ſame mettal. They are both of them very unproportionable to thoſe bodies which they repreſent, and would ſhew them big enough were they placed upon the top of *Noſtredame Church*: What minded *King Lewis* to make his *Father* of ſo *Gigantine* a ſtature

a ſtature I cannot tell. *Alexander* at his return from his *Indian* expedition ſcattered armours, ſwords, and horſe-bits far bigger than were ſerviceable, to make future ages admire his greatneſs: Yet ſome have hence collected, that the acts he performed are not ſo great as is reported, becauſe he ſtrived to make them ſeem greater than they were. It may alſo chance to happen, that men in the times to come, comparing the atchievements of this *King* with his braſen portraiture, may think that the *Hiſtorians* have as much belyed his valour, as his *Statuary* hath his perſon.

A ponte ad pontifices. From the bridge proceed we to the *Church*: the principal *Church* of *Paris* being that of *Noſtre-dame*. A *Church* very uncertain of its firſt *Founder*; though ſome report him to be *St. Savinian*, of whom I can meet with no more than his name. But whoever laid the firſt foundation it much matters not, all the glory of the work being now caſt on *Philip Auguſtus*, who pitying the ruines of it, began to build it *Anno* 1196. It is a very fair and awful building, adorned with a very beautiful front, and two towers of eſpecial height. It is in length 174. paces, and ſixty in breadth, and is ſaid to be as many paces high, and that the two towers are ſeventy yards higher than the reſt of his *Church*. At your firſt entrance on the right hand, is the *Effigies* of *St. Chriſtopher* with our *Saviour* on his ſhoulders: A man the *Legend* maketh him, as well as the *Maſon*, of a *Gigantine* ſtature, though of the two the *Maſons* workmanſhip is the more admirable; his being cut out all of one *Fair ſtone*, that of the *Legendary* being patched

patched up of many fabulous & ridiculous shreeds. It hath in it four ranks of *pillars* 30. in a rank, and forty five little *Chappels*, or *Mass-closets*, built between the outermost range of *pillars* and the *wals*. This is the seat of the *Arch-bishop* of *Paris*, for such now he is. It was a *Bishoprick* onely till the year 1622. when *Pope Gregory* the fifteenth at the request of *King Lewis* raised it to a *Metropolitanship*. But beside the addition of *Honour*, I think the present *Incumbent* hath got nothing either in precedency or profit. He had before a necessary voyce in the the *Courts* of *Parliament*, and took place immediately after the *Presidents*, he doth no more now. Before he had the priority of all the *Bishops*, and now he is but the last of all the *Arch-bishops*. A preferment almost rather intellectual than real, and perhaps his successors may account it a punishment. For besides that, the dignity is too unweildy for the *Revenue*, which is but 600. *liures*, or 600 *li*. *English* yearly; like enough it is, that some may come into that *See* of *Cæsars* mind, who being in a small Village of the *Alpes*, thus delivered his ambition to his followers, *Malle me esse hic primus, quam Romæ secundus*. The present possessour of this *Chair* is one *Francis de Gondi*, by birth a *Florentine*, one whom I have heard much famed for a *Statesman*, but little for a *Scholar*. But had he nothing in him, this one thing were sufficient to make him famous to posterity; that he was the first *Arch-bishop*, and the last *Bishop* of the City of *Paris*. There is moreover in this *Church* a *Dean*, seven *Dignities* and fifty *Canons*. The *Deans* place is valued at 4000. *liures*, the *Dignities* at 3000. and

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the *Canons* at 2000. no great *Intrado's*, and yet unproportionable to the *Arch-bishoprick*.

At *Diepe* (as I have said) I observed the first *Idolatry* of the *Papists*; here I noted their first Superstitions, which were the needless use of *holy Water*; and the burning of Lamps before the *Alter*. The first is said to be the invention of *Pope Alexander*, the seventh *Bishop* of *Rome*, in their account after *Peter*. I dare not give so much credit unto *Platina*, as to beleeve it of this Antiquity, much less unto *Bellarmine*, who deriveth it from the *Apostles* themselves: in this *Paradox* he hath enemies enough at home; his own *Doctors* being all for *Alexander*: yet they also are not in the right. The principall foundation of their opinion is an *Epistle Decretory* of the said *Alexander*, which in it self carries its own confutation. The citations of *Scriptures*, on which this Superstition is thought to be grounded, are all taken out of the *Vulgar Translation*, *Latine*, attributed to St. *Hierome*; whereas neither was there in the time of *Alexander* any publick Translation of the *Bible* into *Latine*; neither was *St. Hierome* born within 300. years after him. *Holy Water* then is not of such a standing in the *Church*, as the *Papists* would perswade us; and as yet I have not met with any, that can justly inform me at what time the *Church* received it. Many corruptions they have among them, whereof neither they nor we can tell the beginning.

It consisteth of two Ingredients, *Salt* and *Water*; each of them severally consecrated, or rather exorcized; for so the words go, *Exorcizo te creatura*

creatura salis: and afterwards *Exorcizo te creatura aque &c.* This done the Salt is sprinkled into the Water in form of a *Crosse*, the *Priest* in the mean time saying *Commixtio salis et aquæ paristes fiat in nomine Patris, &c.* Being made it is put into a *Cistirne* standing at the entrance of their *Churches*: the people at their coming in sometimes dipping their fingers into it, and making with it the sign of the *Crosse* in their foreheads, and sometimes being sprinkled with it by one of the *Priests*, who in course bestow that blessing upon them. Pope *Alexander*, who is said to be the Father of it, gave it the gift of purifying and sanctifying all which it washed: *Ut Cunesti illa aspersi purificentur et sanctificentur*, saith his *Decretall*. The *Roman Ritual* published and confirmed by *Paulus* the fifth, maketh it very soveraigne, *ad abigendos Dæmones, et Spiritus immundos*: *Bellarmine* maintaineth it a principall remedy *ad remissionem peccatorum Venialium*: and saith, that this was the perpetual doctrine of the *Church*. *Augustin Steuchus* in his *Commentary* upon *Numbers*, leaveth out *Venialia*, and pronounceth it to be necessary; *Ut ad eius aspersum debita nostra deleantur*: So omnipotent is the *Holy Water*, that the blood of our *Saviour Christ* may be in a manner judged unnecessary. But it is not onely used in the *Churches*, the *Rituale Romanum*, (of which I spake but now) alloweth any of the faithfull to carry it away with them, in their vessels, *ad aspergendos agros, domos, agros, vineas et alia, et ad habendum eam in cubiculis suis.* To which purposes it cannot but think this *Water* very serviceable.

The

The second Superstition which this *Church* shewed me, was the continual burning of a Lamp, before the *Alter*: A Ceremony brought into the *Churches* (as it is likely) by Pope *Innocent* the third, *Anno* 1215. at which time he ordained there should a Pix be bought to cover the bread, and that it should therein be reserved over the *Altar*. This honour one of late times hath communicated also unto the *Virgin Mary*; whose Image in the *Church* hath a *Lanthorne ex diametro* before it; and in that a *Candle* perpetually burning. The name of the *Donor* I could not learn: onely I met on the Screene close by the *Ladies Image* this *Inscription*: *Vne Ave Maria et un Patre nostre pour luy qui cela donne*: which was intended on him that bestowed the *Lanthorne*. No question but Pope *Innocent* when he ordained this *Vestal Fire* to be kept amongst the *Christians* thought he had done God good service, in reviving this old *Commandement* given to *Moses* in the twenty seventh of *Exodus* and the twentieth and twenty one verses. If so the World cannot clear him of *Judaisme*, therefore the best way were to say, he learned it of the *Gentiles*; for we read that the *Athenians* had *Lychnum inextinctum luminis* before the *Statua* of their *Pallas*: that the *Persians* also had *ignem pervigilem* in their *Temples*: and so also had the *Medians* and *Assirians*: to omit the everlasting Fire of *Vesta*, and come neer home, we meet with it also here in *Britaine*. *In Britannia quoque* (saith a good *Philosopher*) *Minervae numen colitur: in cuius Templo perpetui ignes* &c. Afterwards the flattery of the *Court* applying di-

vine

vine honours unto their *Kings*, this custom of having fire continually burning before them, began to grow in fashion among the *Romans*: *Herodian* amongst other the ensigns of *Imperial Majesty* is sure not to omit this: and therefore telleth us, that notwithanding *Commodus* was fallen out with his sister *Lucilla*, he permitted her her antient seat in the *Theater*, καὶ τὸ πῦρ προπομπεύειν ἀυτῆς, and that fire should be carried before her. The present *Romans* succeed the former as in their possessions so in their follies. For calling the *Sacrament* their *Lord God*, and the *Virgin* their *Lady*; they thought they should rob them of half their honour, should they not have their lamps and fires also burning before them.

As are their *Lamps*, so is their *Holy water*, meerly heathenish, *Siquidem in omnibus Sacris* (as we read in the fourth book *Genialium Dierum*) *Sacerdos cum Diis immolat & rem divinan facit, corporis ablutione purgatur.* The Author giveth a reason for it, and I would no *Papist*, no not *Bellarmine* himself to give a better. *Aqua enim aspersione labem tolli, & castimoniam præstare putant.* Neither did the *Preist* onely use it himself, but he sprinkled the people also with it.

Spargeremare Levi, & ramo felicis Olivæ
Lustravitq; viros. ——————

As *Virgil* in the *Æneads.*

In which place two things are to be noted: First, *ramus Olivæ*, now called *Asperserium*, or the sprinkling rod, wherewith the water is sprinkled on the standers

ſtanders by: and ſecondly, the term *Luſtrare* meetly *heathenish*, whence the *Holy water* of the *Papists* (no queſtion) had the name of *Aqua luſtralis*, by which they call it. That the *Laicks* alſo of the *Gentiles* were cleanſed of ſin by this water, is evident by that of *Homer*, where he maketh *Oreſtes*, having killed his Mother and thereupon grown mad, at once reſtored to his wits by waſhing in the water. Perhaps *Pilate* might allude to this cuſtom, when having condemned our *Saviour*, he waſhed his hands in the midſt of the *Congregation*. Hereunto alſo *Ovid*.

O faciles nimium, qui triſtia crimina cædis
Flumineâ tolli poſſe putatis aquâ.

Too facil ſouls, which think ſuch hainous matters
Can be aboliſh'd by the River-Waters.

Indeed in the word *Flumineâ* the Poet was ſomewhat out, the waters onely of the Sea ſerving for the expiation of any crime; the reaſon was, *cum propter vim igneam magnopere purgationibus conſentanea putaretur*. And for this cauſe queſtionleſs do the *popiſh Prieſts* uſe ſalt in the conſecration of their *holy water*, that it might as near as was poſſible reſemble the waters of the Sea in ſaltneſs, ſo willing are they in all circumſtances to act the Heathens.

But I have kept you too long within the *Church*, it is now time to go up to the top, and ſurvey the out works of it. It hath (as we have already ſaid) at the front two *Towers* of admirable beauty, they

they are both of an equal height, and are each of them 377. steps in the ascent. From thence we could clearly see the whole circuit of *Paris*, and each several street of it, such as we have already described, of an orbicular form, and neatly compacted. From hence we could see the whole valley round about it, such as I have delineated already, though not in such lively colours as it meriteth. An object it is so delicious and ravishing, that had the *Devil* taken *King Henry* the fourth and placed him on the top of this *Temple*, as he did our *Saviour* on that of *Hierusalem*, and said unto him, all this will I give thee, this alone had been enough to have made him fall down and worship him.

In one of those *Towers* there is a *Ring of Bels*, in the other two onely, but those for worth equal to all the rest. The bigger of the two is said to be greater than that of *Roven* so much talked of, as being eight yards and a span in compass, and two yards and an half in depth; the bowl also of the clapper being one yard and a quarter round. Of a great weight it must needs be; and therefore (*Multorum manibus grande levatur onus*) there are no less than four main ropes besides their several tayl ropes to ring it. By reason of the trouble it is never rung but in time of thunders, and these no mean ones neither. Lesser Bels will serve the lesser tempests; this is onely used in the horridest claps, and such as threaten a dissolution of *Nature*. But how well, as well this, as the smallest discharge that office, experience would tell us, were we void of reason; yet so much do the people affiance

themselves to this conceit of the power of them, that they suppose it inherent to them continually, after the *Bishop* hath baptized them, which is done in this manner. The *Bell* being so hanged, that it may be washed within and without, in cometh the *Bishop* in his *Episcopal* robes, attended by one of his *Deacons*, and sitting by the *Bell* in his chair, saith with a loud voice the 50, 53, 56, 66, 69, 85, and 129. *Psalms*, or some of them; then doth he exorcize severally the *Salt* and the *Water*, and having conjured those ingredients into an *holy water*, he washeth with it the *Bell*, both on the inside and the outside; wiping it dry with a linnen cloath, he readeth the 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150. *Psalms*; he draweth a *cross* on it with his right thumb dipped in hallowed oyl (*chrisme* they call it) and then prayeth over it. His prayer finished, he wipeth out the *cross*, and having said over it the 48. *Psalm*, he draweth on it with the same oyle seven other *crosses*, saying *Sanctificetur & consecretur Domine Campana ista, in nomine*, &c. After another prayer, the *Bishop* taketh another *Censer*, and putting into it Myrrh and Frankincense, setteth it on fire, and putteth it under the *Bell*, that it may all receive fume of it; this done, the 78. *Psalm* read, & some other prayers repeated, the *Bell* hath received his whole and intire *Baptisme*, and these vertues following, *viz. Ut per illius tactum procul pellantur omnes insidiæ inimici, fragor grandinum, procellæ turbinum, impetus tempestatum*, &c. for so one of the *Prayers* reckoneth them: prescribed in the *Roman Pontifical* authorized by *Clement* 8th. A strange piece of Religion, that a *Bell* should be

baptized,

baptized, and so much the strangers in that house in animate bodies can be received into the Church by no other ministery than that of the Bishop, the true Sacrament being permitted to every Hedge-Priest.

Not farre from the West-gate of the Church of Nostre Dame is the Hostel dieu, or grand Hospital de Paris, first founded by King Louis, Anno 1258. It hath been since beautified and inlarged, Anno 1535. by Mr. Anthony Prat, Chancellor of France, who augmented the number of the hospitallers, and gave fair revenues for the maintaining of Surgeons, Apothecaries, and religious men amongst them. Since that time the Provost, and Eschevins of Paris have been especial Benefactors unto it. At your first entrance into it you come into their Chappel, small but handsome and well furnished: After you pass into a large gallery, having four ranks of beds, two close to the wals, and two in the middle. The beds are all suitable the one to the other; their vallance, curtains and rugs being all yellow. At the further end of this a door opened into another chamber dedicated onely to sick women; and within them another room, wherein women with child are lightned of their burden, and their children kept till seven years of age at the charge of the Hospital. At the middle of the first gallery on the left hand, were other four ranks of beds, little differing from the rest, but that their furniture was blew, and in them there was no place for any, but such as were some way wounded, and belonged properly to the Chirurgion. There are numbred in the whole Hospital no less than seven

hundred beds (beſides thoſe of attendants, *Prieſts*, *Apothecaries*, &c.) and in every bed two perſons. One would imagine, that in ſuch a variety of wounds and diſeaſes, a walk into it, and a view of it might ſavour more of curioſity than diſcretion. But indeed it is nothing leſs: for beſides that, no perſon of an infectious diſeaſe is admitted into it, which maketh much for the ſafety of ſuch as view it, all things are kept there ſo cleanly and orderly, that it is ſweeter walking there, than in the beſt ſtreet of *Paris*, none excepted.

Next unto thoſe ſucceeded *la Saincte Chapelle* ſcituate in the middle of the *Palais*: a *Chappel* famous for its form, but more for its *Reliques*. It was founded by *Lewis* the ninth, vulgarly called *St. Lewis*, *Anno* 1248. and is divided into two parts, the *Upper* and the *Lower*: the *Lower* ſerving for the keeping of the *Reliques*, and the *Upper* for celebrating of the *Maſs*. It is a comely ſpruce Edifice without, but farre more curious within: the glaſs of it for the excellency of painting, and the *Organs* for the richneſs and elaborate workmanſhip of the Caſe, not giving way to any in *Europe*. I could not learn the number of *Chanoins* which are maintained in it, though I heard they were places of three hundred *Crowns* revenue. As for their *Treaſurer*, *le Threaſurier*, as they call their *Governor*, he hath granted him by eſpecial priviledge, the licence to wear all the *Epiſcopal* habits, except the *Croſier-ſtaffe*, and to bear himſelf as a *Biſhop* within the liberties of his *Chappel*. In the top of the upper *Chappel* (it is built almoſt in the form of a *Synagogue*) there hangeth the true proportion

portion (as they say) of the *Crown of Thorns*: but of this more when we have gone over the *Reliques*. I was there divers times to have seen them, but it seemeth they were not visible to a *Hugonots* eyes; though me thinketh they might have considered, that my money was *Catholick*. They are kept, as I said, in the lower *Chappel*, and are thus marshalled in a Table hanging in the upper. Know then that you may beleive that they can shew you the *Crown* of *Thornes*, the blood which ran from our *Saviours* breast, his swadling *Clouts*, and a great part of the *Cross* (they also of *Nostre-dame* have some of it,) the chain by which the *Jews* bound him, no small peice of the stone of the *Sepulchre*, *Sanctam telam tabulæ insertam*, which I know not how to *English*; some of the *Virgins milk*, (for I would not have those of *St. Denis* think the *Virgin* gave milk to none other but to them) the head of the *Launce* which peirced our *Saviour*: the *Purple Robe*: the *Sponge*, a peice of his *Shrowd*: the *Napkin* wherewith he was girt when he washed his Disciples feet: the *Rod* of *Moses*, the head of *St. Blase*, *St. Clement*, and *St. Simeon*, and part of the head of *John Baptist*. Immediately under this recital of these *Reliques* (and venerable ones I durst say they were, could I be perswaded there were no impostures in them) there are set down a *Prayer* and an *Antheme*, both in the same Table as followeth.

ORATIO.

Quæsumus Omnipotens Deus, ut qui sacra sanctissima redemptionis nostræ insignia temporaliter

ventramur, per hæc indesinenter munite æternitatis gloriam consequamur: dominum nostrum, &c.

De sacrosanctis Reliquiis Antiphona
Christo plebs debita, tot Christi donis prædita
Jucunderis hodie: Tota sis devota:
Erumpent in Jubilum depone mentes nubilum
Tempus est Lætitiæ, Cura sit summota:
Ecce Crux & Lancea, Ferrum, Corona spinea
Arma Regis gloriæ tibi offerantur,
Omnes terræ populi laudent actorem seculi
Per quem tantis gratiæ signis offerantur. Amen.

Pretty *Divinity* if one had time to examine it. These *Reliques*, as the Table enformeth us, were given unto *St. Lewis, Anno* 1247. By *Baldwin* the second, the last King of the *Latines* in *Constantinople*, to which place the *Christians* of *Palæstine* had brought them, during the time that those parts were harrowed by the *Turks and Saracens*. Certainly were they the same, which they are said to be, I see no harm in it, if we should honour them. The very reverence due to antiquity and a silver head could not but extort some acknowledgement of respect even from a heathen. It was therefore commendably done by *Pope Leo*, having received a parcel of the *Cross* from the *Bishop* of *Hierusalem*, that he entertained it with respect. *Particulam Dominicæ Crucis* (saith he in his 72. *Epistle*) *cum eulogiis dilectionis tuæ Veneranter accepi.* To adore and worship that, or any other *Relique* whatsoever with prayers and *Anthems*, as the *Papists* you se-

do

do, never came within the minds of the *Ancients*, and therefore *St. Ambrose* calleth it *Gentilis error, & vanitas impiorum*. This was also *St. Hierom's* religion, as himself testifieth in his *Epistle* to *Ruparins*. *Nos* (saith he) *non dico martyrum reliquias, sed ne Solem quidem & Lunam, non Angelos*, &c. *colimus & adoramus*. Thus were those two *Fathers* minded towards such *Reliques*, as were known to be no others than what they seemed: Before too many *Centuries* of years had consumed the true ones, and the imposture of the *Priests* had brought in the false. Had they lived in our times, and seen the supposed *Reliques* of the *Saints* not honoured onely, but adored and worshipped by the blind and infatuated people, what would they have said, or rather what would they not have said: Questionless, the least they could do, were to take up the complaint of *Vigilantius* (the *Papists* reckon him for an *Heretick*) saying, *Quid necesse est tanto honore non solum honorare sed etiam adorare, illud nescio quid, quod in vasculo transferendo colis*.

Presently without the *Chappel* is the *Burse la Gallerie des Marchands*, a rank of shops in shew, but not in substance, like to those in the *Exchange* at *London*: It reacheth from the *Chappel* unto the great *Hall of Parliament*, and is the common through-fare between them. On the bottom of the stairs, and round about the several houses consecrated to the execution of justice, are sundry shops of the same nature, meanly furnished, if compared with ours, yet I perswade my self the richest of this kind in *Paris*.

I should now go and take a view of the *Parliament House*, but I will step a little out of the way to see the place *Daulphin*, and the little *Chastelet*. This last serveth now onely as the *Gaole* or common prison belonging to the *Court* of the *Provost* of the *Merchants*, and it deserveth no other employment. It is seated at the end of the bridge called *Petit pont*, and was built by *Hugh Aubriot*, once *Provost* of the *Town*, to repress the fury and insolencies of the *Scholars*, whose rudeness and misdemeanours can no way be better bridled. *Omnes eos qui nomen ipsum Academiæ, vel serio, vel ioco nominassent, hæreticos pronunciavit* (saith *Platina* of *Pope Paul* the second) I will say it of this wilderness; that whosoever will account it as an *Academy* is an *Heretick* to *Learning* and *Civility*. The place *Daulphin* is a beautiful heap of building, scituate nigh unto the new bridge. It was built at the encouragement of *Henry* the fourth, and entituled according to the title of his Son. The houses are all of brick, high built, uniform, and indeed such as deserve, and would exact a longer description, were not the *Parliament* now ready to sit, and my self summoned to make my appearance.

Chap. VIII.

The Parliament of France *when began: Of whom it consisted: The Dignity and esteem of it abroad, made sedentary at* Paris, *appro-*

priated

priated to the long Robe: The Palais *by whom built and converted to ſeats of Juſtice: The ſeven Chambers of Parliament the great Chamber; the number and dignity of the Preſidents. The Duke of* Biron *afraid of them. The Kings ſeat in it. The ſitting of the* Grandſigneur *in the* Divano. *The authority of the Court in cauſes of all kinds, and over the affairs of the King. This Court the main pillar of the liberty of* France. La Tournelle *and the Judges of it. The five Chambers of Enqueſts ſeverally inſtituted, and by whom. In what cauſes it is deciſive. The form of admitting Advocates into the Court of Parliament. The Chancellor of* France *and his authority. The two Courts of Requeſts and Maſters of them. The vain envy of the* Engliſh *Clergy againſt the Lawyers.*

THe *Court of Parliament* was at the firſt inſtituted by *Charles Marcell* Grandfather to *Charlemaine*, at ſuch time as he was *Maior* of the *Palace* unto the lazy and retchleſs *Kings* of *France*. In the beginning of the *French Empire* their *King* did juſtice to the people in perſon. Afterwards baniſhing themſelves from all the affairs of State, that burden was caſt upon the ſhoulders of their *Maires*. An Office much of the nature with the *Preſecti Pretorio* in the *Roman Empire*. When this Office

Office was bestowed upon the said *Charles Marcell*, he, partly weary of the trouble, partly intent about a business of a higher nature, which was the effacing of the *Crown* in his own Posterity, but principally to indear himself to the Common people, ordained the *Court* of *Parliament*, *Anno* 720. It consisted in the beginning of twelve *Peers*, the *Prelates* and *Noblemen* of the best fashion, together with some of the principallest of the *Kings Household*. Other *Courts* are called the *Parliament* with the addition of place, as of *Paris*, at *Roven*, &c. This only *par excellence*, the *Parliament*. It handled as well causes of *State* as those of private persons. For hither did the *Embassadours* of mighty *Princes* repair to have their audience and dispatch; and hither were the *Articles* (agreed upon in the *National Synods* of *France*) sent to be confirmed and verified: Here did the *Subjects* tender in their homages and oaths of fidelity to the *King*: And here were the *Appeals* heard of all such as had complained against *Comtes*, at that time the Governors and Judges in their several *Counties*. Being furnished thus with the prime and choisest *Nobles* of the *Land*, it grew into great estimation abroad in the world, insomuch that the *Kings* of *Sicily*, *Cyprus*, *Scotland*, *Bohemia*, *Portugal* and *Navarre*, have thought it no disparagement unto them to sit in it. And which is more, when *Frederick* the second had spent so much time in quarrels with *Pope Innocent* the fourth, he submitted himself and the rightnoss of his cause to be examined by this *Noble Court of Parliament*.

At

At the first institution of this *Court* it had no settled place of residence, being sometimes kept at *Tholoza*, sometimes at *Aix la Chapelle*, sometimes in other places, according as the *Kings* pleasure and the case of the people did require. During the time of its peregrination it was called *Ambulatoria*, following for the most part the *Kings Court*, as the lower *Spheares* do the motion of the *Primum Mobile*. But *Philip le Belle* (he began his raign *An.* 1280.) being to take a journey into *Flanders*, and to stay there a long space of time, for the settling of his affairs in that Countrey, took order that his *Court of Parliament* should stay behind him at *Paris*, where ever since it hath continued. Now began it to be called *Sedentary*, or settled, and also *per a pra* by little and little to loose much of its lustre: For the Cheif *Princes* and *Nobles* of the *Kings* retinue, not able to live out of the air of the *Court*, withdrew themselves from the troubles of it, by which means it came at last to be appropriated to those of the long Robe, as they term them, both *Bishops* and *Lawyers*. In the year 1463. the *Prelates* also were removed by the *Command* of *Lewis* the eleventh, an utter enemy to the great ones of his *Kingdom*, onely the *Bishop* of *Paris* and the *Abbot* of *St. Denis* being permitted their place in it. Since which time the *Professors* of the *Civil Law* have had all the swaying in it, *& cedeunt arma togæ*, as *Tully*. The place in which this *Sedentary Court of Parliament* is now kept is called the *Palace*, being built by *Philip le Belle*, and intended to be his *Mansion* or dwelling house. He began it in the first year of his reign, *Viz. Anno* 1286. and afterwards

wards assigned a part of it to his *Iudges* of the *Parliament*, it being not totally and absolutely quitted unto them till the dayes of *King Lewis* the tenth. In this the *French* Subjects are beholding to the *English*; by whose good example they got the ease of a *Sedentary Court*: Our *Law Courts* also removing with the King, till the year 1224. when by a *Statute* in the *Magna Charta*, it was appointed to be fixt, and a part of the *Kings Pallace* in *Westminster* allotted for that purpose.

Within the *Virge* of this *Pallace* are contained the seven Chambers the *Parliament*. That called *le grand Chambre*: five Chambers of Inquisition, or *des Enquests*, and one other called *la Tournelle*. There are moreover the Chambers, *des aides*, *des accompts*, *de l'edict*, *des Monnoyes*, and one called *la Chambre Royal*: of all which we shall have occasion to speak in their proper places: these not concerning the common Government of the People, but onely the *Kings Revenues*. Of these seven *Chambers* of *Parliament*, *le grand Chambre* is most famous: and at the building of this House by *Philip le belle*, was intended for the *Kings* bed. It is no such beautiful place as the *French* make it; that at *Roven* being farre beyond it: although indeed it much excells the faireſt room of Justice in *Westminster*. So that it standeth in a middle rank between them; and almost in the same proportion as *Virgil*, between *Homer* and *Ovid*.

Quantum Virgilius magno concessit Homero,
Tantum ego Virgilio Naso Poeta meo.

It

It consisteth of seven *Presidents*, *Councellors*, the *Kings Attorney*, and as many *Advocates*, and *Procters*, as the *Court* will please to give admission to. The *Advocates* have no settled studies within the *Pallace*, but at the *Barre*: but the *Procurers* or *Attorneys* have their several Pewes in a great Hall, which is without this *Grand Chambre* in such manner as I have before described at *Roven*. A large building it is faire and high roofed, not long since ruined by casualty of fire, and not yet fully finished. The names of the *Presidents* are, 1. *Mr. Verdun*, the first *President*, or by way of excellencie *le President*, being the second man of the long Robe in *France*. 2. *Mr. Sequer* lately dead, and likely to have his Son succeed him as well in his Office, as his *Lands*. 3. *Mr. Leiger*. 4. *Mr. Dosammoi*. 5. *Mr. Sevin*. 6. *Mr. Baillure*. and 7. *Mr. Maisme*. None of these, neither *Presidents* nor *Councellers* can goe out of *Paris* when the *Lawes* are open, without leave of the *Court*. It was ordained so by *Lewis* the twelfth. *Anno* 1499. and that with good judgement; Sentences being given with greater awe, and busines managed with greater *Majesty* when the *Bench* is full: and it seemeth indeed that they carry with them a great terrour. For the *Duke* of *Biron*, a man of as uncontrolled a spirit, as any in *France*, being called to answer for himself in this *Court*, protested that those scarlet Robes did more amaze him, than all the red *Cassocks* of *Spain*.

At the left hand of this *Grand Chambre*, or golden Chamber as they call it, is a *Throne* or Seate

Royall,

Royall, reserved for the *King*, when he shall please to come, and see the administration of Justice amongst his people. The common times it is naked and plain, but when the *King* is expected, it is clothed with blew purple Velvet, semied with *Flowerdelys*. On each side of it are two forms, or benches, where the *Turks* of both habits both *Ecclesiasticall* and *Secular* use to sit, and accompany the *King*, but this is little to the ease or benefit of the Subject; and as little available to try the integrity of the *Judges*; his presence being alwayes fore-known, and so they accordingly prepared. Farre better then is it in the *Court* of the *Grand Signeur*, where the *Divano* or *Counsell* of the *Turkish* Affaires holden by the *Bassa's* is hard by his bed Chamber which looketh into it. The window which giveth him this entervieiwe is perpetually bidden with a curtaine on that side of the partition which is towards the *Divano*, so that the *Bassa's* and other Judges cannot at any time tell, that the *Emperour* is not listening to their Sentences. An action in which nothing is *Turkish* or *Mahometan*.

The authority of this *Court* extendeth it self to all Causes, within the Jurisdiction of it, not being meerly *Ecclesiastical*. It is a Law unto it self, following no Rule written in their Sentences; but judging according to equity and conscience. In matters criminal of greater consequence, the process is here immediately examined, without any preparation of it from the inferiour *Courts*, as at the araignment of the *Duke* of *Biron*; and divers times also in matter personall. But their power

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is most eminent in disposing the affaires of *State* and of the *Kingdome*: for such prerogatives have the *French Kings* given hereunto, that they can neither denounce Warre, nor conclude Peace, without the consent (a formall one at the least) of this *Chamber*. An *Alienation* of the least of the Lands of the Crown, is not any whit valued, unless confirmed by this *Court*; neither are his *Edicts* in force till they are here verified: nor his *Letters Patents* for the creating of a *Peere*, till they are here allowed of. Most of these I confesse, are little more than matters of forme, the *Kings* power and pleasure being become boundless: yet sufficient to shew the body of Authority which they once had, and the shaddow of it which they still keep. yet of late they have got into their disposing one priviledge belonging formerly to the *Conventus Ordinum*, or the Assembly of the three *Estates*; which is the conferring of the *Regency*, or protection of their *Kings* during their minority. That the Assembly of the three *Estates* formerly had this priviledge is evident by their stories. Thus we find them to have made *Queene Blanche Regent* of the *Realm* during the nonage of her Son *St. Lewis*, *Anno* 1227. that they declared *Phillip le Valois* successor to the *Crowne*, in case that the widdow of *Charles de belle*, was not delivered of a Son, *Anno* 1328. That they made *Charles* the *Daulphin Regent* of *France* during the imprisonment of *King John* his Father, *Anno* 1357. As also *Phillip* of *Burgony*, during the Lunary of *Charles* the sixth, *Anno* 1394. with divers others. On the other side, we have a late

late example of the power of the *Parliament* of *Paris* in this very case; for the same day that *Henry* the fourth was slain by *Ravilliac*, the *Parliament* met, and after a short consultation, declared *Mary de Medices*, Mother to the *King Regent* in *France*, for the Government of the State, (during the minority of her Son) with all power and authority: such are the words of the *Instrument*, dated the 14. of *May*, 1610.

It cannot be said but this *Court* deserveth not onely this, but any other indulgence whereof any one member of the Common-wealth is capable. So watchful are they over the health of the *State*, and so tenderly do they take the least danger threatned to the liberties of that *Kingdome*, that they may not unjustly be called *Patres Patriæ*. In the year 1614. they seazed upon a discourse written by *Suarez* a *Jesuite* entitled *Adversus Anglicanæ sectæ errores*, wherein the *Popes* temporal power over *Kings* and *Princes* is averred: which they sentenced to be burnt in the *Pallace* yard by the publick Hangman. The yeare before they inflicted the same punishment upon a vain and blasphemous discourse penned by *Gasper Niopius*, a fellow of a most desperate brain, and a very incendiary. Neither hath *Bellarmine* himself that great *Atlas* of the *Roman Church* escaped much better; for writing a Book concerning the temporal power of his *Holiness*, it had the ill luck to come into *Paris*, where the *Parliament* finding it to thwart the Liberty and Royalty of the *King* and Country, gave it over to the Hangman; and he to the Fire. Thus it is evident, that the title

which

which the *French* writers gave it, as the true *Temple* of the *French Justice*, the *Buttresse* of *Equity*, the *Guardian* of the *Rights* of *France*, and the like, are abundantly deserved of it.

The next *Chamber* in esteem is the *Tournelle*, which handleth all matters Criminal. It is so called from *Tourner*, which signifieth to change or alter; because the *Judges* of the other several Chambers give sentence in this, according to their several turnes. The reason of which Institution is said to be, least a continual custome of condemning should make the *Judges* less merciful, and more prodigall of blood. An order full of health and providence; it was instituted by the above named *Phillip le Belle*, at the same time when he made the *Parliament* sedentary at *Paris*; and besides its particular and original employment, it receiveth Appeals from, and redresseth the errours of the *Provost* of *Paris*. The other five Chambers are called *des Enquests*, or *Contra Inquastionum*: the first and ancientest of them, was erected also by *Phillip le Belle*, and afterwards divided into two by *Charles* the seventh. Afterwards of *Processes* being greater than could be dispatched in these *Courts*, there was added a third. *Francis* the first established the fourth, for the better raising of a sum of money which then he wanted: every one of the new *Counsellers* paying right dearly for his place. The fifth and last was founded in the year 1568. In each of these severall Chambers, there be two *Presidents*, and twenty *Counsellers*, beside *Advocates* and *Proctors*, *ad placitum*. In the *Tournelle* which is the aggrega-

tion of all the other *Courts*, there are supposed to be no fewer than two hundred *Officers* of all sorts, which is no great number considering the many Causes there handled. In the *Tournelle*, the *Judges* sit on matters of life and death; in the Chambers of *Enquests* they examine onely civil Affairs, of estate, title, debts, and the like. The *Pleaders* in these *Courts* are called *Advocates*; and must be at the least *Licentiats* in the study of the *Law*. At the *Parliaments* of *Tholoza* and *Burdeaux*, they admit of none but *Doctors*: now the form of admitting them is this. In an open and frequent *Court*, one of the agedest of the *Long Robe*, presenteth the party which desireth admission, to the *Kings Atturney General*, saying with a loud voice, *Paisse a Cour recevoir N. N. Licencie (or Docteur) en droict civil, a l'office d'Advocate.* This said, the *Kings Atturney* biddeth him hold up his hand, and saith to him in *Latine*, *Tu jurabis observare omnes Reges Consuetudines*, he answereth *Juro*, and departeth. At the Chamber door of the *Court*, where of he is now sworne an *Advocate*, he payeth two *Crowns*, which is forthwith put into the common Treasury, appointed for the relief of the distressed Widdows, of ruined *Advocates* and *Proctors*: *Hanc veniam petimusque damusque.* It may be their own cases, and therefore it is paid willingly. The highest preferment of which these *Advocates* are capable, is that of *Chauncellor*: an Office of great power and profit. The present *Chauncellor* is named *Mr. d'Allegre*, by birth of *Chartres*, he hath no settled *Court* wherein to exercise his authority; but hath

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in all the *Courts* of *France*, the supream place whensoever he will vouchsafe to visit them. He is also *President* of the *Council* of *State* by his place, and on him dependeth the making of good and sacred *Laws*, the administration of *Justice*, the reformation of superfluous, and abrogation of unprofitable *Edicts*, &c. He hath the keeping of the *King's* great *Seal*, and by vertue of that whither passeth or putteth back such *Letters Patents*, and *writs* as are exhibited to him. He hath under him immediately for the better dispatch of his Affairs, four *Masters* of the *Requests*, and their *Courts*. Their Office and manner of proceeding is the same, which they also use in *England*: in the persons there is this much difference; that in *France* two of them must be perpetually of the *Clergy*. One of their *Courts* is very ancient, and hath in it two *Presidents*, which are two of the *Masters*, and fourteen *Counsellors*. The other is of late erection, as being founded *Anno* 1580. and in that the two other of the *Masters*, and eight *Counsellors* give sentence.

Thus have I taken a view of the several *Chambers* of the *Parliament* of *Paris*, and of their particular Jurisdictions, as far as my information could conduct me. One thing I noted further, and in my mind the fairest ornament of the *Pallace*, which is the neatness and decency of the *Lawyers* in their apparel; for besides the fashion of their habit, which is I assure you exceeding pleasant, and comely; themselves by their own care and love to handsomeness, adde great lustre to their garments, and more to their persons. Rich-

ly dreſt they are and well may be ſo, as being the ableſt & moſt powerfull men under the *Princes* & *la Nobleſſe* in all the *Country*. An happineſs (as I conjecture) rather of the calling than of the men. It hath been the fate and deſtiny of the *Law*, to ſtrengthen & enable its profeſſors beyond any other any Art or Science: the *Pleaders* in all Common-wealths both for ſway amongſt the people, and vague amongſt the Military men, having alwaies had the prehe minence. Of this rank were *Pericles*, *Phocion*, *Alcibiades*, and *Demoſthenes*, amongſt the *Athenians*, *Antonius*, *Marc Cato*, *Caſar*, and *Tullie* amongſt the *Romans*: men equally famous for Oratory and the Sword; yet this I can confidently ſay, that the ſeveral States above mentioned, were more indebted unto *Tullie* and *Demoſthenes*, being both meer *Gown men*, than to the beſt of their Captaines: the one freeing *Athens* from the Armies of *Macedon*; the other delivering *Rome* from the conſpiracy of *Catiline*. *O fortunatum natum me Conſule Romam.* It is not then the fate of *France* only, nor of *England*, to ſee ſo much power in the hand of the *Lawyers*; and the caſe being general, me thinks the envy ſhould be the leſs; and leſs it is indeed with them than with us. The *Engliſh Clergy* though otherwiſe the moſt accompliſht in the World, in this folly deſerveth no Apologie, being ſo ſtrangely ill affected to the Pleaders of this Nation, that I fear it may be ſaid of ſome of them, *Quod invidiam non meretur cauſam ſed perſonam, et ad valuntatem dirigant.* A weakneſs not more unworthy of them, than prejudicial to them, for

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foftering between both Gownes ſuch an unneceſſary emulation, they do but exaſperate that power, which they cannot controle, and betray themſelves to much envy and diſcontentedneſs. A diſeaſe whoſe cure is more in my wiſhes, than in my hopes.

CHAP. IX.

The Kings *Pallace of the Louure, by whom built; the unſtableneſs of it. The fine Gallery of the* Queene *Mother. The long Gallery of* Henry *the fourth; his magnanimous intent to have built it into a Quadrangle.* Henry *the fourth a great builder; his infinite project upon the Mediterranean, and the Ocean. Laſalle des Antiques. The* French *not ſtudious of Antiquities.* Burbon *Houſe. The Tuilleries,* &c.

WE have diſcharged the *King* of one *Pallace*, and muſt follow him to the other, where we ſhall find his reſidence. It is ſeated in the weſt ſide of the Town or *Ville* of *Paris*, hard by *Porte neufue*, and alſo by the new Bridge. An Houſe of great fame, and which the *Kings* of *France* have long kept their *Courts* in. It was firſt built by *Phillip Auguſtus*, *anno* 1214. and by him intended for a Caſtle, it then ſerving to impriſon the more *potent of the Nobleſſe*, and to

lay up the *Kings* Treasury: for that cause it was well mounted and strengthened with walls and draw Bridges, very serviceable in those times. It had the name of *Louure quasi L'œuure*, or the work: the Building by way of excellencie. An *Etymologie* which draweth nigher to the ear than the understanding, or the eye. And yet the *French* writers would make it a miracle: *Du Chesne* calleth it *superbe bastiment qui n'a son esgal en toute la Christiente*: and you shall hear it called in another place, *Bastiment qui passe muiourd huy en excellence et en grandeur, tous les autres.* Brave *Eligies*, if all were Gold that glistered. It hath given up now its charge of money, and great prisoners to the *Bastile*; and at this time serveth only to imprison the *Court*. In my life I never saw any thing more abused by a good report, or that more belyeth the rumours that go of it. The ordinary talk of vulgar travellers, and the bigg words of the *French* had made me expect at the least some prodigie of Architecture, some such Majestical house as the *Sunne Don Phœbus* is said to have dwelt in by *Ovid.*

Regia solis erat sublimibus alta columnis,
Clara micante auro, flammasque imitante pyropo:
Cuius ebur nitidum, &c.

Indeed I thought no fiction in *Poetry* had been able to have parraleil'd it; and made no doubt but it would have put me into such a passion, as to have cryed out with the young Gallant in the *Comidie*, when he saw his *Sweet heart*; *Hei mi-*

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hi quales erat? talis erat qualem nunquem ego vidi. But I was much deceived in that hope, and could find nothing in it to admire, much leſs to envy. The Fable of the *Mountaine* which was with child, and brought forth a Mouſe, is queſtionleſs a Fable. This Houſe, and the large fame it hath in the world is the *Morall* of it. Never was there an Houſe more unſuitable to it ſelf in the particular examination of parts, nor more unſuitable to the Character and eſteem of it in the general ſurvey of the whole.

You enter into it over two *Draw-bridges*; and thorough three *Gates*, ruinous enough and abundantly unſightly. In the *Quadrangle* you meet with three ſeveral faſhions of buildings, of three ſeveral ages; and they ſo unhappily joyned one to the other, that one would half beleeve they were clapped together by an *Earthquake*. The *South* and *Weſt* parts of it are new, and indeed *Princelike*, being the work of *Francis* the firſt, and his Son *Henry*: had it been all caſt into the ſame mould, I perſwade my ſelf, that it would be very gratious and lovely. The other two are of ancient work and ſo contemptible, that they diſgrace the reſt: and of theſe I ſuppoſe the one to be at the leaſt a hundred years older than his partner: ſuch is it without. As for the inſide it is farre more graceful, and would be pleaſing at the entrance, were the *Gaurd Chamber* reformed. Some *Hugonot Architect* which were not in love with the errours of Antiquity, might make a pretty room of it: a *Catholick Carpenter* would never get credit by it; for whereas the provident thrift

of our fore fathers intended it (for the House would else be too narrow for the *Kings* retinue) both for a room of safety and of pleasure, both for *Bellmen* and *Dancers*; and for that cause made up some six ranks of seats on each side. That sparingness in the more curious eyes of this time is little *King like*. Country wenches might with an indifferent stomack abuse a Galliard in it, or it might perhaps serve, with a Stage at one end, to entertain the *Parisiens* at a Play; or with a partition in the middle, it might be divided into pretty plausible *Cock pits*. But to be employed in the nature it is now, either to solace the *King* and *Lords* in a dance, or to give any forraign *Ambassadour* his welcome in a *Masque*, is little sutable with the majesty of a *King* of *France*. The *Chambers* of it are well built, but ill furnished; the hangings of them being somewhat below a meanness: and yet of these here is no small scarcity, for as it is said of the *Gymnosophists* of *India*, that *Una domus et mansioni sufficit et sepulturæ*: so may we of this *Prince*. The same Chamber serveth for to lodge him, feed him, & also to confer & discourse with his *Nobility*. But like enough it is that this want may proceed from the several *Courts* of the *King*, the *Monsieur*, the *Queene Mother*, and the *Queene Regnant*, being all kept within it.

Proceed we now to the two *Galleries*, whereof the first is that of the *Queene Mother*, as being beautified and adorned exceedingly, by *Catherine de Medices*, Mother to *Henry* the third, and *Charles* the ninth. It containeth the Pictures of all the *Kings* of *France*, and the most loved of their

their *Queens* since the time of *St. Lewis*. They stand each *King* opposite to his *Queen*, she being that of his Wives, which either brought him most estate, or his *Successor*. The tables are all of a just length, very fair, and according to my little acquaintance with the Painter, of a most excellent workmanship. And which addeth more grace to it, they are in a manner a perfect history of the State and Court of *France* in their several times. For under each of the *Kings* pictures they have drawn the potraitures of most of their *Lords*, whom valour and true courage in the field ennobled beyond their births: Under each of the *Queens*, the lively shapes of the most principal *Ladies*, whose beauty and vertue had honoured the Court. A dainty invention, and happily expressed. At the further end of it stand the last *King*, and the present *Queen Mother*, who fill up the whole room. The succeeding *Princes*, if they mean to live in their pictures, must either build new places for them, or else make use of the Long Gallery built by *Henry* the fourth, and which openeth in to that of the *Queen Mother*. A Gallery it is of an incredible length, as being above 500. yards long, and of a breadth and height not unproportionable. A room built rather for ostentation than use, and such as hath more in it of the *Majesty* of ist Founder than the *Grace*: It is said to have been erected purposely to joyn the *Louure* unto the house and garden of the *Tuilleries*: an unlikely matter, that such a stupendious building should be designed onely for a cleanly conveyance into a Summer-house. Others are of opinion, that

that he had a resolution to have the Houſe quadrangular, every ſide being correſpondent to this, which ſhould have been the common Gallery to the reſt, which deſign had it taken effect, this *Palace* would at once have been the wonder of the world, and the envy of it. For my part I dare be of the laſt mind; as well becauſe the ſecond is in part begun, as alſo conſidering how infinitely this *King* was affected to building. The place *Dauphin*, and the place *Royal*, two of the fineſt piles of *Paris*, were erected partly by his purſe, but principally by his encouragement. The new *Bridge* in *Paris* was meerly his work; ſo was alſo the new *Palace*, and the moſt admirable *Water-Works of St. Germaines*; this long *Gallery* and the *Peſthouſe* owe themſelves wholly unto him, and the houſe of *Fountain bleau*, which is the faireſt in *France*, is beholding to him for moſt of its beauty. Adde to this his fortifications beſtowed on the *Baſtile*, and his purpoſe to have ſtrengthened *Paris* according to the modern art of Towns, and you will find the attribute of *Paritaria* or *Wall-ſtone*, which *Conſtantine* ſcoffingly gave unto *Trajan* for his great humour of building, to be due unto this *King*, but ſeriouſly and with reverence.

Beſides the general love he had to building, he had alſo an ambition to go beyond enſample, which alſo induceth me further to beleive his intent of making that large and admirable quadrangle above ſpoken of, to have been ſerious and real. For to omit others, certain it is, that he had a project of great ſpirit and difficulty, which was to joyn the *Mediterranean* Sea and the *Ocean* toge-

ther;

then; and to make the navigation from the one sea to the other through *France*, and not to pass by the straight of *Gibraltar*. It came into counsel *Anno* 1604. and was resolved to be done by this meanes. The River of *Garond* is navigable from the *Ocean* almost to *Thoulouse*, and the *Mediterranean* openeth it self into the land by a little River (whose name I know not) as high as *Narbonne*. Betwixt these two places was there a navigable channel to have been digged, and it proceeded so far towards being actuated, that a workman had undertaken it, and the price was agreed upon. But there arising some discontents between the *King* of *France* and *Spain*, about the building of the *Fort Fuentis*, in the Countrey of the *Grisons*; the King not knowing what use he might have of treasure in that quarrel, commanded the work not to go forward. However it is to be commended in the attempt, which was indeed Kingly, and worthy his spirit, and praise him in his heroick purpose and design.

Quem si non tenuit, magnis tamen excidit ausis.

But the principal beauty, if I may judge of this so much admired Palace of the *Louure*, is a low plain room, paved under foot with brick, and without any hangings or tapestry on the sides; yet being the best set out and furnished, to my content, of any in *France*: It is called *La salle des Antiques*, and hath in it five of the ancientest and venerablest pieces of all the *Kingdom*: For the *Nation* generally is regardless of antiquity, both in the monuments

moments and in the ſtudy of it; ſo that you ſhal hardly find any ancient inſcription, or any famous ruine ſnatched from the hand of time, in the beſt of their *Cities* and *Churches*. In the *Church* onely of *Amiens* could I meet with any antient Character; which alſo was but a *Gothiſh Dutch Letter*, and expreſſed nothing but the name and vertue of a *Biſhop* of the *Church*, in whoſe time it was. So little alſo did I perceive them to be inclining to be *Antiquaries*; that both neglect (conſidered (*ſi Verbis audacia detur*) I dare confidently averre, that one *Cotton* for the Treaſury, and one *Selden* (now Mr. *Camden* is dead) for the ſtudy of Antiquities, are worth all the *French*. As for theſe five peices in *La ſalle des Antiques*, they are, I confeſs, worthy our obſervation, and reſpect alſo, if they be ſuch as our trudgemen informed us of the further end of it, the *Statua* of *Diana*, the ſame (as it is ſaid) which was worſhipped in the renowned Temple of *Epheſus*, and of which *Demetrius* the Silver-ſmith and his fellow Artiſts cried out, μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις τῶν Ἐφεσίων, Great is *Diana* of the *Epheſians*: Of a large and manly proportion ſhe ſeemeth to be.

Quantum & quale latus, quam juvenile femur.
As *Ovid* of his Miſtriſs.

She is all naked ſave her feet, which are buskin'd, and yet ſhe hath a ſcarfe or linnen roul, which coming over her left ſhoulder, and meeting about her middle, hung down with both ends of it a little lower. In the firſt place towards the right hand,

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as we descended towards the door, was the *Statua* of one of the *Gods of Æthiopia*, as black as any of his people, and one that had nothing about him to express his particular being. Next unto him the *Effigies* of *Mercury*, naked all except his feet, and with a pipe in his mouth, as when he inchanted *Argos*.

Nam que reperta Fistula nuper erat.
Saith the *Metamorphosis*.

Next unto him the portraiture of *Venus*, quite naked and most immodestly apparreld; in her hand her little Son *Cupid*, as well arrayed as his Mother, sitting on a *Dolphin*. Last of all *Apollo* also in the same naked truth, but that he had shooes on; He was portrayed as lately returned from a *Combat*, perhaps that against the Serpent *Python*.

Quem Deus arcitenens, & nunquam talibus armis
Ante, nisi in damis, caprisq; fugacibus, usus
Mille gravem telis (exhausta pane pharetra)
Perdidit, effuso per vulnera nigra, veneno.

The Archer-God, who, e're that present tide,
Ne're us'e those arms, but 'gainst the Roes and Deer,
With thousand shafts the earth made to be dy'de
With Serpents bloud, (his quiver emptied cleer.

That I was in the right conjecture I had these reasons to perswade me; the Quiver on the *Gods* right

right shoulder almost emptied, his warlike belt hanging about his neck, his garment loosly tumbling upon his left arm, and the slain Monster being a water serpent, as *Pithonis* feined to be by the *Poets*. All of these were in the same side of the wall, the other being altogether destitute of ornament, and are confidently said to be the statues of those *Gods*, in the same forms that they were worshipped in, and taken from their several Temples. They were bestowed on the *King* by his Holiness of *Rome*, and I cannot blame him for it. It was worthy but little thanks to give unto him the *Idols* of the Heathen, who for his Holiness satisfaction had given himself to the *Idols* of the *Romish* I believe that upon the same terms the *King of England* should have all the Reliques and ruines of Antiquity which can be found in *Rome*.

Without this room, the *Salle des Antiques* and somewhat on the other side of the *Louure* is the House of *Burbon*, and old decayed brick, in which was nothing observable but the Owner. For being built by *Lewis* of *Burbon* the third *Duke* of that branch, he caused this Motto, *ESPERANCE*, to be engraven in Capital Letters over the door, signifying his hopes, that from his loyns should proceed a *King*, which should joyn both the Houses and the Families, and it is accordingly happened. For the *Tuilleries* I have nothing to say of them, but that they were built by *Catherine de Medices*, in the year 1564. and that they took name from the lime-kils and tile-pits there being before the foundation of the house and the garden; the word *Tuillerie* importing as much in

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the *French* language; I was not so happy as to see them, and will not be indebted to any for the relation.

CHAP. X.

The person, age and marriage of King Lewis; *Conjectural reasons of his being issueless.* Jaqueline *Countess of* Holland *kept from issue by the house of* Burgundy: *The Kings Sisters all married, and his alliances by them. His natural Brethren and their preferment. His lawful Brother the title of* Monsieur *in* France; Monsieur *as yet unmarried; not like to marry* Mont-Peusiers *Daughter; That Lady a fit Wife for the Earl of* Soissons: *The difference between him and the Prince of* Conde *for the Crown, in case the Line of* Navarre *fail: How the Lords stand affected in the cause; Whether a Child may be born in the eleventh moneth.* King Henry *the fourth a great Lover of fair Ladies;* Monsieur Barrados *the Kings Favorite, his birth and offices. The omniregency of the* Queen Mother *and the* Cardinal *of* Richilieu; *The* Queen Mother *a wise and prudent Woman.*

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THe *King* is the soul of the Court, without his presence it is but a Carcase, a thing without life and honour. I dare not so farre wrong the *Louvre*, as to make it but a common house, and rob it of the fruition of its *Prince*, and therefore will treat of him here; though during my aboad in *France* he lay all the while in *Fountain Bleau*: For person he is of the middle stature, and rather well proportioned than large. His face knoweth little yet of a beard, but that which is, is black and swarthy; his complexion also much of the same heiw, carrying in it a certain boysterousnes, and that in a further measure than what a graceful Majesty can admit of. So that one can hardly say of him without a spice of Courtship, what *Paterculus* did of *Tiberius*, *Quod visus prætulerit principem*, that his countenance proclaimed him a *King*. But questionles his greatest defect is want of uterance, which is very unpleasing by reason of a desperate and uncurable stammering, which defect is likely more and more to grow upon him. At this time he is aged twenty four years, and as much as since the 27 day of *September* last, which was his birth day, an age which he beareth not very plausibly; want of beard and the swarthines of his complexion making him seem elder. At the age of eleven years he was affianced to the *Lady Anne Infanta of Spain*, by whom as yet he hath no children. It is thought by many, and covertly spoken by divers in *France*, that the principal cause of the *Queens* barrennes proceedeth from *Spain*, that people being loath to fall under the *French* obedience, which may very well happen, she being the elder Sister of

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the *King*. For this cause, in the seventh article of marriage there is a clause, that neither the said *Infanta*, nor the Children born by her (to the *King*) shall be capable to inherit any of the estates of the *King of Spain*; and in the eighth article she is bound to make an act of renunciation under her own hand-writing, as soon as she cometh to be twelve years old, which was accordingly performed. But this being not sufficient to secure their fears, it is thought that she was some way or other disabled from conception, before ever she came into the *Kings* embraces: A great crime I confess if true: yet I cannot say with *Tully* in his defence of *Ligarius*: *Novum crimen Cæsar, & hoc tempus manditum.* *Jaqueline Countess of Holland* was Cozen to *Philip Duke* of *Burgundie*: Her being fruitful would have debarred him from those estates of *Holland*, *Zealand* and *West-Freezland*; therefore though she had three Husbands there was order taken she should never have Child: with her two first Husbands the *Duke* would never suffer her to live: and when she had stollen a wedding with *Frank of Borselle* one of her servants, the *Dukes Physitians* gave him such a potion, that she might as well have married an *Eunuch*: upon this injury the poor *Lady* died; and the *Duke* succeeded in those Countries; which by his Grand-child *Marie* were conveyed over into the House of *Austria*, together with the rest of his estate. I dare not say, that that Family hath inherited his practises with his lands; and yet I have heard, that the *Infanta Isabella* had the like or worse measure afforded her, before she was bedded to the *Arch-duke Al-*

bertus. A diabolical trick, which the prostitutes of the heathen used in the beginnings of the *Gospel*, and before, of whom *Octavius* complaineth, *quod originem futuri hominis extinguant, & parricidium faciunt, antequam pariunt.*

Better luck than the *King* hath his Sister beyond the mountains, I mean his eldest Sister *Madame Elizabeth*, married to the *King of Spain* now living, as being, or having been the Mother of two Children: His second Sister, *Madame Christian*, is married to *Amadeo Victor Principe Maior*, or heir apparent of the *Duke* of *Savoy*, to whom as yet she hath born no issue. The youngest, *Henrietta Mariæ*, is newly married to his most Excellent Majesty of *England*, to whom may she prove of a most happy and fruitful womb. *Et pulchra faciat te prole parentem.* Of these alliances the first were very profitable to both *Princes*, could there be made a marriage between the Kingdoms as well as the *Kings*. But it is well known, that the affections of each people are divided more unconquerable mountains, than their dominions: The *French* extreamly hating the proud humour and ambition of the *Spaniard*. We may therefore account each of them in these marriages to have rather intended the perpetuity of their particular houses, than the strength of their Empires; and that they more desired a noble stock whereon to graft posterity, than power. The alliance with *Savoy* is more advantagious, though less powerful than that of *Spain*. For if the *King of France* can keep this *Prince* on his party, he need not fear the greatness of the other, or any of his faction. The continu-

all

all siding of this House with that of *Austria*, having given many and great impediments to the fortune of the *French*. It standeth so fitly to countenance the affairs of either *King* in *Italy* or *Germany* to which it shall incline, that it is just of the same nature with the estate of *Florence* between *Millain* and *Venice*: of which *Gnicciardine* saith, that *Mantennero le cose d Italia bilanciate* On this reason *King Henry* the fourth earnestly desired to match one of his Children into this Countrey, and left this desire as a Legacie with his Council. But the alliance of most use to the State of *France*, is that of *England*, as being the nighest and most able of all his neighbours. An alliance which will make his Estate invincible, and incompassed about as it were with a wall of brass.

As for the *Kings* bastard Brethren they are four in number, and born of three several beds. The eldest is *Mr. Alexander*, made *Knight* of the Order of St. *John*, or of *Malta*, in the life time of his Father. He is now *Grand Prior of France*, and it is much laboured and hoped by the *French*, that he shall be the next Master of the *Order*; a place of great command and credit. The second and most loved of his Father, whose lively image and character he is said to be, is *Cesar*, made *Duke* of *Vendosme* by his Father. He is at this time Governor of *Brittain*, an active brave spirit, and one who swayeth much in the affairs of State. His Father took great care for his advancement before his death, and therefore married him to the Daughter and Heir of the *Duke of Mercuer*, a man of great possessions in *Brittain*. It is thought

that the inheritance of this *Lady*, both by her Fathers side, and also by her Mothers, who was of the Family of *Marsegues*, being a stock of the old *Ducal* tree, is no less than 200000. Crowns yearly. Both these were born unto the *King* by *Madame Gabriele*, for her excellent beauty surnamed *la belle*, *Dutchess of Beauforte*, a *Lady* whom the *King* most entirely affected even to the last gasp, and one who never abused her power with him; so that we may truly say of her what *Velleius* flatteringly said of *Livia* the Wife of *Augustus*, *Ejus potentiam nemo sensit, nisi levatione periculi, aut accessione dignitatis.* The third of the *Kings* natural Brethren is Mr. *Henry*, now *Bishop of Metz* in *Lorraine*, and *Abbot* of *St. Germans* in *Paris*. As *Abbot* he is Lord of the goodly *Fairbourg* of *St. Germans*, and hath the profits of the great Fair there holden, which make a large revenue. His Bishoprick yeildeth him the profits of 20000. Crowns and upwards, which is the remainder of 60000. the rest being pawned to the *Duke* of *Lorraine*, by the last *Bishop*, who was of that family. — The Mother of this Mr. *Henry* is the *Marchioness of Verneville*, who before the death of the *King* fell out of his favour into the [illegible]on, and was not restored to her liberty till the beginning of the *Queen Mothers Regency*. The fourth and youngest is Mr. *Antonie*, born unto the *King* by the *Countess of Morret*, who is *Abbot* of the Churches of *Marseilles* and *Cave*, & hath as yet not fully six thousand pound a year, when his Mother dieth he will be richer.

The *Kings* lawful Brother is named *John Baptist Gaston*,

Gaſton, born the 25th of *April*, *Anno* 1608. A Prince of a brave and manlike aſpect, likely to inherit as large a part of his Fathers ſpirit, as the *King* doth of his Crown. He is entituled *Duke of Anion*, as being the third Son of *France*, but his next elder Brother the *Duke of Orleance* being dead in his childhood, he is vulgarly and properly called *Monſieur*. This title is different from that of *Daulphin*, in that that title is onely appropriated to the Heir apparent, being the *Kings* eldeſt Son living. This limited to the Heir apparent, being the *Kings* eldeſt Brother ſurviving; if there be neither Son nor Brother, then the next Heir apparent is ſtiled onely *Le primier Prince du ſang*. *The firſt Prince of the blond*. This title of *Monſieur* anſwereth to that of the *Deſpote* in the *Greek Empire*; and in imitation of that it is thought to have been inſtituted. Others of the *French* Princes are called *Monſieurs* alſo, but with ſome addition of place or honour; the *Kings* eldeſt Brother onely is called *Monſieur ſans queue*, as the *French* uſe to ſay; that is, ſimply *Monſieur*. This young Prince is as yet unmarried, but deſtinate to the bed of the young *Dutcheſs of Mont-penſier*, whoſe Father died in the time of *Henry* the fourth. Had the *Duke of Orleance* lived, he had eſpouſed her long ere this; but it is generally believed, that this *Prince* is ſo affected. He ſeeth his elder Brother as yet childleſs, himſelf the next Heir to the Crown, and it is likely he will look on a while, and expect the iſſue of his fortune.

Some that ſpeak of the affairs of the Court, hold her to be a fit match for the young *Count of Soiſons*,

Soisons, a Prince of the bloud, and a Gentleman of a fine temper. The *Lady* her self is said not to be averse from the Match; neither will the *King* not be inclinable unto him, as hoping therein to give him some satisfaction, for not performing a Court promise, made unto him about marrying him to the young *Madame*, now *Queen of England*. As for the *Count* it cannot but be advantagious to him divers wayes; partly to joyn together the two Families of *Montpensier* and *Soisons*, both issuing from the house of *Burbon*; partly to enrich himself by adding unto his inheritance so fair an estate; and partly by gaining all the Freinds and Allies of the *Ladies* kinred unto him; the better to enable his opposition against the *Prince of Conde*. The difference between them standeth thus: *Lewis* the first *Prince* of *Conde* had by two Wives, amongst other Children, two Sons; by his first Wife *Henry Prince* of *Conde*, by the second *Charles Count* of *Soisons*. *Henry Prince of Conde* had to his first Wife *Mary* of *Cleve*, Daughter to the *Duke* of *Nevers*, by whom he had no Children: to his second Wife he took the *Lady Katherine* of *Montmorille*, Sister to the *Duke* of *Thovars*, *Anno* 1586. two years after his marriage he died of an old grief took from a poysoned cup, which was given him, *Anno* 1552. and partly from a blow given him with a Lance at the battel of *Contras*, *Anno* 1587. In the eleventh moneth after his decease, his young *Princess* was brought to bed of a young Son, which is now *Prince* of *Conde*. *Charles Count* of *Soisons* in the raign of *Henry* the fourth began to question the *Princes* legitimation; whereupon the *King* deal-

dealt with the Parliament of *Paris*, to declare the place of the first *Prince* of the bloud to belong to the *Prince* of *Conde*: And for the clearer and more evident proof of the title, twenty four Physitians of good faith and skill made an open protestation of oath in the Court, that it was not onely possible but common for Women to be delivered in the eleventh moneth. On this it was awarded to the *Prince*.

This decree of Parliament notwithstanding, if ever the King and his Brother should die childless, it is said, that the young *Count* of *Soisons* (his Father died *Anno* 1614.) will not so give over his title; He is *Steward* of the *Kings* House, as his Father also was before him, a place of good credit, and in which he hath demeaned himself very plausibly. In case it should come to a tryal, *which God forbid*, he is like to make a great party, both within the Realm and without it; without it by means of the House of *Savoy*, having married his eldest Sister unto *Don Thomazo*, the second Son of that *Dukedom* now living: A brave man at armes, and indeed the fairest fruit that ever grew on that tree, next Heir of his Father after the death of *Don Amadeo*, yet childless: within the Realm the *Lords* have already declared themselves, which happened on this occasion. In the year 1620. the moneth of *March*, the *King* being to wash, the *Prince* of *Conde* laid hold on the towel, chalenging that honour as first *Prince* of the bloud; and on the other side the *Count* of *Soisons* seized on it as appertaining to his office of *Steward*, and *Prince* of the bloud also. The *King* to decide the contro-

verſie for the preſent, commanded it to be given to *Monſieur* his Brother, yet did not this ſatisfie. For in the morning the Friends of both *Princes* came to offer their ſervice in the cauſe. To the *Count* came in general all the oppoſites of the *Prince* of *Conde*, and of the *Duke* of *Luines* and *Guiſe*; in particular the *Duke* of *Maien*, the *Duke* of *Vendoſme*, the *Dukes* of *Longueville*, *Eſpernon*, *Nemours*, the *Grand Prior*, the *Dukes* of *Thovars*, *Retz* and *Rohan*, the *Viſcount* of *Aubetene*, &c. who all withdrew themſelves from the Court, made themſelves Maſters of the beſt places in their Governments, and were united preſently into an open faction, of which the *Queen Mother* declared her ſelf head. As for the Commons, without whom the Nobility may well quarrel, but not fight, they are more zealous in behalf of the *Count*, as being brought up alwayes a *Papiſt*, and born of a Catholike kinred, whereas the *Prince*, though at this inſtant he be a Catholike, yet *non fuit ſic ab initio*, he was born, they ſay, and brought up an *Hugonot*, and perchance the alteration is but diſſembled.

Concerning the *Prince of Conde*, he hath a ſentence of Parliament on his ſide, and a verdict of Phyſitians, both weak helps to a ſoveraignty, unleſs well backed by the Sword. And for the verdict of the Phyſitians, thus the caſe is ſtated by the Doctors of that faculty. *Laurentius* a Profeſſor of *Mont-pellier* in *Languedoc*, in his excellent Treatiſe of Anatomy, maketh three terms of a Womans delivery, *Primus*, *intermedius*, *& ultimus*. The firſt, the ſeventh and eighth moneth after con-

ception

ception, in each of which the Child is vital and may live if it be born. To this also consenteth the Dr. of their *Chair Hippocrates*, saying, παιδίον ἑτταμένον, γόνον γονόμενον ζῆ, that a Child born in the seventh moneth, if it be well looked to, may live. We read also, how in *Spain* the Women are oftentimes lightned in the end of the seventh moneth, and commonly in the end of the eighth: and further, that *Sempronius* and *Corbula*, both *Roman Consuls*, were born in the seventh moneth: *Plinie* in his natural History reporteth it as a truth, though perhaps the Women that told him either misreckoned their time, or else dissembled it to conceal their honesties. The middle time (*terminus intermedius*) is the ninth and tenth moneths, at which time Children do seldom miscarry: In the former two moneths they had gathered life, in these later they onely consummate strength, so say the *Physitians* generally. *Non enim in duobus sequentibus mensibus* (they speak it of the *intermedii*) *additur aliquid ad perfectionem partium, sed ad perfectionem roboris.* The last time (*terminus ultimus*) in the common account of this Profession is the eleventh moneth, which some of them hold neither unlikely nor rare. *Massurius* recordeth of *Papyrius*, a *Roman Prætor*, to have recovered his inheritance in open Court, though his Mother confest him to be born in the thirteenth month. And *Avicen* a *Moor* of *Corduba* relateth (as he is cited in *Laurentius*) that he had seen a Child born after the fourteenth. But these are but the impostures of Women; and yet indeed the modern Doctors are more charitable, and refer it to supernatural causes.

Ut

Ut extra ordinariam artis considerationem. On the other side *Hippocrates* giveth it out definitively; ἐν δεκαμῆνι γίνεται τάυτα τὸ μηκρότατον, that in ten moneths at the furthest (understand ten moneths compleat) the Child is born. And *Ulpian* the great *Civilian* of his times, in the title of *Digests de Testamentis* is of opinion, that a Child born after the tenth moneth (compleat) is not to be admitted to the inheritance of its pretended Father. As for the Common Law of *England*, as I remember, I have read it in a book written of *Wils* and *Testaments*, it taketh a middle course between the charity of nature and the severity of Law, leaving it meerly to the conscience and circumstance of the *Judge*.

But all this must be conceived (taking it in the most favourable construction) after the conception of the *Mother*, and by no meanes after the death of the *Father*, and so can it no way (if I were first *President*) advantage the *Prince* of *Conde*: His Father had been extreamly sick no small time before his death for the particular, and supposed since his poison taken, *Anno* 1552. to be little prone to Women in the general. They therefore that would seem to know more than the vulgar, reckon him as one of the by-blows of *Henry* the fourth, but this under the *Rose*: yet by way of conjecture we may argue thus First, from the *Kings* care of his education, assigning him for his *Tutor Nicholas de Februe*, whom he also designed for his Son *King Lewis*. Secondly, from his care to work the *Prince*, then young, *Mollis & aptus agi*, to become a *Catholike*. Thirdly, the age of the

old

old *Henry* of *Conde*, and the privacy of this *King* with his *Lady*, being then *King* of *Navarre*, in the prime of his strength, and in discontent with the *Lady Margaret* of *Valois* his first Wife. Adde to this that *Kings* love to fair *Ladies* in the general, and we may see this probability to be no miracle: For besides the *Dutchess* of *Beaufort*, the *Marchioness* of *Verneuille*, and the *Countess* of *Morret* already mentioned, he is believed to have been the *Father* of Mr. *Lanes* the great Favorite of *King Lewis*. And certain it is, that the very year before his death, when he was even in the winter of his dayes, he took such an amorous liking to the *Prince* of *Conde*'s Wife, a very beautiful *Lady*, and Daughter to the Constable *Duke* of *Montmorency*, that the *Prince* to save his honour was compelled to flie, together with his *Princess*, into the *Dutch Dukes Country*, whence he returned not till long after the death of *King Henry*. If *Marie de Medices* in her Husbands life time paid his debts for him (which I cannot say) she onely made good that of *Quintilian*, *Et uxor mariti exemplo incitata, aut imitari se putat, aut vindicare*. And yet perhaps a officious sence of some injuries not onely moved her to back the *Count* of *Soissons* and his faction against the *Prince* and his, but also to resolve upon him for the Husband of her Daughter.

From the *Princes* of the bloud descend we to the *Princes* of the *Court*, and therein the first place we meet with *Mr. Barradat*, the *Kings* present Favourite, a young Gentleman of a fresh and lively hew, little bearded, and one whom the people

people at yet cannot accuse for any oppression or misgovernment. Honours the *King* hath conferred none upon him, but onely *Pensions* and *Offices*. He is the Governour of the *Kings* Children of *Honour*, (*Pages* we call them in *England*) a place of more trouble, than wealth or credit. He is also the Master of the *Horse*, or *le grand Escuire*; the esteem of which place recompenceth the emptiness of the other; for by vertue of this Office he carryeth the *Kings* Sword sheathed before him at his entrance into *Paris*: the Cloth of Estate carryed over the *King* by the *Provosts* and *Eschevins*, is his *Fee*. No man can be the *Kings* Spur maker, his Smith, or have any place in the *Kings* Stables but from him, and the like. This place (to note so much by the way) was taken out of the *Constables* Office (*Comes stabuli* is the true name) to whom it properly belonged, in the time of *Charles* the seventh. Besides this he hath a pension of 500000. Crowns yearly; and had an Office given him, which he sold for 100000. Crownes in ready money. A good fortune for one who the other day was but the *Kings Page*.

And to say truth, he is as yet but a little better, being onely removed from his Servant to his *playfellow*: with the affairs of *State* he intermeddleth not; if he should, he might expect the *Queene Mother* should say to him, what *Apollo* in *Ovid* did to *Cupid*.

——— *Tibi quia cum fortibus armis,*
Mi puer: ista decent humeros gestamina nostros.

For

For indeed first during her Sons minority, and after since her redentigration with him, she hath made her self so absolute a Mistress of her mind, that he hath entrusted to her, the entire conduct of all his most weighty affairs: for her Assistant in the managing of her greatest business, she hath pieced her self to the strongest side of the State, the *Church*, having principally (since the death of the *Marshall D' Anere Ioneane*) assumed to her Counsails the *Cardinal* of *Richilein*: a man of no great birth, were *Nobility* the greatest *Parentage*: but otherwise to be ranked among the *Noblest*. Of a sound reach he is, and of a close brain; one exceedingly well mixt of a *Lay Understanding*, and a *Church Habit*; one that is compleatly skilled in the art of men, and a perfect Master of his own mind and affections. Him the *Queene* useth as her Counseller, to keep out frailty and the *Kings* name as her countenance to keep off envy. She is of a *Florentine* wit, and hath in her all the vertues of *Katherine de Medices* her Ancestor in the *Regencie*: and some also of her vices, only her designes tend not to the ruine of her Kingdome, and her Children. *John de Seirres* telleth us in his *Inventaire* of *France*, how the *Queene Katherine* suffered her Son *Henry* the third, a devout and simple *Prince*, to spend his most dangerous times even uncontrolled upon his Beades, whiles in the mean time, she usurped the Government of the Realm. Like it is that *Queene Mary* hath learned so much of her kinswoman, as to permit this Son of hers also to spend his time, in his Garden amongst his play fellows and his Birds, that

she may the more securely mannage the State at her discretion. And to say nothing of her untrue or misbecoming her vertue, she hath notably well discharged her ambition; the Realm of *France* being never more quietly and evenly Governed, then first during her Regencie; and now during the time of her favour with the *King*. For during his minority, she carryed her self so fairly between the Factions of the Court, that she was of all sides honoured; the time of *Marquesa d' Ancre* onely excepted. And for the differences in Religion, her most earnest desire was not to oppress the *Protestants*, insomuch that the warre raised against them during the Command of *Mr. Luines*, was presently after his death and her restoring to grace ended. An heroical *Lady*, and worthy of the best report of posterity: the frailty and weekness of her, as being a woman, not being to be accounted hers but her Sexes.

CHAP. II.

The Religious struggling in France, *like the two Twins in the womb of* Rebecca: *The comparison between them two and those in general. A more peculiar Survey of the Papists Church in* France; *In Policie, Priviledge, and Revenue. The Complaint of the* Clergie *to the* King. *The acknowledgement of the* French *Church to the* Pope, *meerly titular.*

titular. The pragmatick Sanction: Maxima tua fatuitas, et Conventui Tridentino, *severally written to the* Pope *and the* Trent Councill. *The tedious quarrels about Investitures. Four things propounded by the Parliament to the* Jesuits. *The* French Bishops *not to meddle with* Friers: *Their lives and Land. The ignorance of the* French *Priests. The Chanoins Latine in Orleans. The* French *not hard to be converted if plausibly humoured,* &c.

FRom the Court of the *King* of *France*, I cannot better provide for my self, than to have recourse unto the Court of the *King* of *Heaven*, and though the *Poet* meant not *Exeat aulâ qui vult esse pius* in that sense, yet will it be no treason for me to apply it so. And even in this Court the Church, which should be like the Coat of its *Redeemer* without seam, do I find rents and factions; and of the two, these in the Church more dangerous, than those in the *Louure*. I know, the story of *Rebecca*, and the Children struggling in her, is generally applyed to the births and contentions of the *Law* and the *Gospell*. In particular we may make use of it in the present estate of the Church, and Religions in *France*: for certain it is, that there were divers pangs in the womb of the *French* Church before it was delivered: and first she was delivered of *Esau*, the Popish faith being first after the struggling countenanced

tenanced by authority, and he came out *red all over like a hairy Garment*, saith the text, which very oppositely expresseth the bloody and rough condition of the *French* Papist at the birth of the Reformation: before experience and long acquaintance had bred a liking between them. And after came his Brother out, which laid hold on *Esaus* heel, and his name was called *Jacob*: wherein is described the quality of the *Protestant party*: which though confirmed by publick *Edict* after the other, yet hath it divers times endeavoured, and will perchance one day effect the tripping up of the others heeles. And *Esau* (saith *Moses*) *was a cunning hunter; a man of the field: but Jacob was a plain man dwelling in Tents.* In which words the comparison is most exact. A cunning Archer in the Scriptures, signifieth a man of Art and Power mingled: as when *Nimrod* in the 10th of *Genesis* is termed, *A mighty Hunter*. Such is the *Papist*, a side of greater strength and subtilty, a side of warre, and of the field. On the other side the *Protestants* are a plain race of men, simple in their actions, without craft and fraudulent behaviour, and dwelling in Tents, that is, having no certain abiding place, no one *Province* which they can call theirs, but living dispersed and scattered over the Country; which in the phrase of Scripture, is dwelling in Tents. As for the other words differencing the two Brethren, *and the elder shall serve the younger*, they are rather to be accounted a Propheſie, than a Character: which must therefore leave the *Analogie* it holds with the *Rebecca* of *France*, and her two Sons, to the event and prayer.

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For a more particular insight into the strength and subtilty of this *Esau*, we must consider it in the three main particular strengths of it, *Its policy, priviledge, revenue.* For the first, so it is, that the *Popish Church* in *France* is governed like those of the first and purer times, by *Arch-bishops* and *Bishops*: *Arch-bishops* it comprehendeth twelve, and of *Bishops* an hundred and four. Of these the *Metropolitan* is he of *Rhemes*, who useth to annoint the *Kings*, which office and preheminence hath been annexed to this seat, ever since the time of *St. Remegius Bishop* hereof, who converted *Clovis King* of the *Franks* unto the *Gospel*. The present *Primate* is Son to the *Duke* of *Guise*, by name *Henry de Lorrain*, of the age of fourteen yeares or thereabouts, a burden too unweildy for his shoulders,

Et quæ non viribus istis
Munera conveniunt, nec tam puerilibus annis.

For the better government therefore of a charge so weighty, they have appointed him a *Coadjutor* to discharge that great function, till he come to age to take Orders. His name is *Gifford*, an *English fugitive*, said to be a man worthy of a great fortune, and able to bear it. The revenues of this *Arch-bishoprick* are somewhat of the meanest, not amounting yearly to above 100000. Crowns, whereof Doctor *Gifford* receiveth onely two thousand, the remainder going to the *Cadet* of *Lorreine*. This trick the *French* learnt of the *Protestants* in *Germany*, where the *Princes*, after the reformation began

by *Luther*, took in the power and Lordships of the *Bishops*, which, together with their functions, they divided into two parts. The Lands they bestowed upon some of their younger Sons or Kinsmen, with the title of *Administrator*; the office and power of it they conferred with some annual pension on one of their Chaplains, whom they stiled the *Superintendent* of the *Bishoprick*. This *Archbishop*, together with the rest of the *Bishops*, have under them their several *Chancellors*, *Commissaries*, *Archdeacons* and other Officers attending in their Courts, in which their power is not so general, as with us in *England*. Matters of *Testament* never trouble them, as belonging to the Court of Parliament, who also have wrested into their own hands almost all the business of importance, sure I am, all the causes of profit originally belonging to the Church. The affairs meerly *Episcopal* and *Spiritual* are left unto them, as granting licence for marriages, punishing whoredom by way of pennance, and the like: To go beyond this were *Ultra crepidam*, and they should be sure to have a prohibition from the *Parliament*.

Of their Priviledges, the chief of the *Clergymen* is, the little or no dependency they have on the *Pope*, and the little profits they pay unto their *King*. Of the *Pope* anon. To the *King* they pay onely their *dismes* or tithes according to the old rates, a small sum if compared unto the payments of their neighbours, it being thought, that the *King* of *Spain* receiveth yearly one half of the Living of the Churches. But this I mean of their Livings onely, for otherwise they pay the usual ga-

bels

bels and customs that are paid by the rest of the *Kings Leige-people*. In the general assembly of the three Estates, the *Clergy* hath authority to elect a set number of Commissioners to undertake for them & the Church, which Commissioners do make up the the first of the three *Estates*, & do first exhibite their greivances and petitions to the *King*. In a word, the *French Church* is the freest of any in Christendom, that have not yet quitted their subjection to the *Pope*, as alwayes protesting against the *Inquisition*, not subjecting themselves to the Council of *Trent*, and paying very little to his *Holiness* of that plentiful revenue wherewith *God* and good men have blessed it.

The number of those which the Church-land maintaineth in *France* is *tantum non infinite*, therefore the *intrado* and revenues of it must needs be uncountable. There are numbred in it (as we said before) twelve *Archbishopricks*, an hundred and four *Bishopricks*: To these add five hundred and fourty *Archpriorities*, one thousand four hundred and fifty *Abbies*; twelve thousand three hundred and twenty *Priorities*, the sixty seven *Nunneries*, seven hundred *Covents* of *Friers*, two hundred fifty nine *Commendams* of the Order of *Malta*, and one hundred and thirty thousand *Parish Priests*; yet this is not all. Their reckoning was made in the year 1598. since which time the *Jesuits* have divers Colledges founded for them, and they are known to be none of the poorest. To maintain this large wilderness of men, the *Statists* of *France*, who have proportioned the Country, do allow unto the *Clergy* almost a fourth part of the whole:

For ſuppoſing *France* to contain two hundred millions of *Arpens* (a meaſure ſomewhat bigger than one Acre) they have allotted to the Church for its temporal revenue forty ſeven millions of them. In particular of the *Archbiſhops*, *Biſhops*, *Abbots*, and pariſh *Prieſts*, they of *Aulx*, *Alby*, *Clumai*, and *St. Eſtiennes* in *Paris*, are ſaid to be the wealthieſt. The *Archbiſhop* of *Aux* in *Gaſcoyne* is valued at 400000. liures, or 40000 *li.* Engliſh yearly. The *Biſhop* of *Alby* in *Languedoc* is prized at 100000. *Florens*, which is a fourth part of it, a great part of the revenue ariſing out of Saffron. The *Abbot* of *Clumac* in the *Dutchy* of *Burgundy* is ſaid to be worth 50000 Crowns yearly, the preſent *Abbot* being *Henry* of *Lorreine*, *Archbiſhop* of *Rhemes* and *Abbot* of *St. Denis*. The Pariſh *Prieſt* of *St. Eſtiennes* is judged to receive yearly no fewer than eight thouſand Crowns, a good intrado. As for the vulgar Clergy, they have little tithe, and leſs glebe; moſt part of that Revenue being appropriated unto *Abbies* and other religious Houſes. The greateſt part of their meanes is the *Baiſemen*, which is the Church offerings of the people, at *Chriſtnings*, *Marriages*, *Burials*, *Dirges*, *Indulgences* and the like, which is thought to amount to almoſt as much as the temporal eſtate of the Church: An *Income* able to maintain them in good abundance, were it not for the greatneſs of their number. For reckoning that there are (as we have ſaid) in *France* one hundred and thirty thouſand Pariſh *Prieſts*, and that there are onely twenty ſeven thouſand four hundred Pariſhes, it muſt of neceſſity be, that every Prriſh, one with another,

another, hath no fewer than four Prieſts, too many to be rich.

But this were one of the leaſt injuries offered to the *French* thriſt, and would little hinder them from riſing, if it were not, that the goodlieſt of their preferments are before their faces given unto Boyes and Children. An affront, which not onely deſpaireth them of the honours due unto their callings, but diſhearteneth them in their ſtudies, and by conſequence draweth them to debauched and ſlanderous courſes.

——— *Quis enim virtutem exquireret ipſam?*
Præmia ſi tollas.

The Clergy therefore, *Anno* 1617. being aſſembled at the houſe of *Auſtin Friers* in *Paris*, (as every two years they uſe to do) being to take their leaves of the *King*, elected the *Biſhop* of *Aire* to be their *Spokeſman*, and to certifie his Majeſty of their greivances. In performing which buſineſs, the principal thing of which he ſpake was to this purpoſe. That whereas his Majeſty was bound to give them *Fathers*, he gave them Children; that the name of *Abbot* ſignifieth a *Father*, and the function of a *Biſhop* was full of fatherly authority, yet *Erance* notwithſtanding was now filled with *Biſhops* and *Abbots* which are yet in their Nurſes arms, or elſe under their Regents in Colledges. Nay more, that the abuſe goeth before the being, Children being commonly deſigned to *Biſhopricks* & *Abbacies* before they were born. He alſo made another Complaint, that the Soveraign Courts by

their decrees had attempted upon the authority which was committed to the *Clergy*, even in that which concerned meerly *Ecclesiastical* discipline and government of the Church. To these Complaints he gave them indeed a very gratious hearing, but it never went further than a hearing, being never followed by redress. The Court of Parliament knew too well the strength of their own authority, and the *King* was loath to take from himself those excellent advantages of binding to himself his Nobility, by the speedy preferring of their Children: And so the Clergy departed with a great deal of envy, and a little of satisfaction.

Like enough it were, that the *Pope* would in part redress this injury, especially in the point of *Jurisdiction*, if he were able, but his wings are shrewdly clipped in this Country, neither can he flie at all, but as farre as they please to suffer him. For his temporal power, they never could be induced to acknowledge it, as we see in their stories, *Anno* 1610. the *Divines* of *Paris*, in a Declaration of theirs tender'd to the *Queen Mother*, affirm the supremacy of the *Pope* to be an erroneus doctrine, and the ground of that hellish position of deposing and killing of *Kings*. *Anno* 1517. when the *Council* of *Lateran* had determined the Pope to be the Head of the *Church* in causes also temporal, the *University* of *Paris* testified against it, in an *Apologie* of theirs dated the twelfth of *March* the same year. *Leo decimus* (saith the *Apologie*) *in quidam coetu non tamen in spiritu Domini congregato, contra fidem Catholicam &c. sacrum Basilien-*

Concilium

Concilium damnavit; In which Councill of *Basill*, the ſupremacy of the *Pope* was condemned. Neither did the *Kings* of *France* forget to maintain their own authority: And therefore whereas *Pope Boniface* the eighth, had in a peremptory letter written to *Phillip le Belle King* of *France* ſtiled himſelf, *Dominus totius Mundi tam in temporalibus quam in ſpiritualibus*: the *King* returned him an anſwer with an *Epithite* ſutable to his arrogancy: *Sciat maxima tua fatuitas nos in temporalibus alicui non ſubeſſe*, &c. The like anſwer though in modeſter termes, was ſent to another of the *Popes* by *St. Lewis*; a man of a moſt mild and ſweet diſpoſition, yet unwilling to forgoe his Royalties.

His ſpiritual power is almoſt as little in ſubſtance, though more in ſhew; for whereas the *Councill* of *Trent* hath been an eſpeciall authorizer of the *Popes* ſpiritual ſupremacy; the *French* Church never would receive it: by this means the *Biſhops* keep in their hands their own full authority, whereof an obedience to the decrees of that *Councill* would deprive them. It was truly ſaid by *St. Gregory*, and they well knew it: Lib. 7. Epiſt. 70. *Si unus univerſalis eſt, reſtat ut vos Epiſcopi non ſitis.* Further the *Univerſity* of *Paris* in their Declaration *Anno* 1610. above mentioned, plainly affirme that it is directly oppoſite to the doctrine of the Church, which the *Univerſity* of *Paris* hath alwaies maintained; that the *Pope* hath power of a Monarch in the ſpiritual Government of the Church. To look upon higher times, when the *Councill* of *Conſtance* had ſubmit-

ted the authority of the *Pope*, unto that of a *Councill*. *John Gerſon Theologus Pariſienſis magni nominis*, defended that decree, and entitleth them *Perniciosos eſſe ad modum adulatores, qui tyrannidem iſtam in Eccleſia invexere, quaſi nullis Regum teneatur vinculis; quaſi neque parere debeat Concilio Pontifex: nec ab eo judicare queat.* The *Kings* themſelves alſo befreind their *Clergy* in this Cauſe, and therefore not onely proteſted againſt the *Council* of *Trent*, wherein the ſpiritual tyranny was generally conſented to by the *Catholike* faction, but *Henry* the ſecond alſo would not acknowledge them to be a *Council*, calling them in his Letters by no other name than *Conventus Tridentinus*: An indignity which the, *Fathers* took very offenſively.

But the principal thing, in which it behooveth them not to acknowledge his ſpiritual ſupremacy is the Collation of *Benefices* and *Biſhopricks*, and the *Annates* and firſt fruits thence ariſing. The firſt and greateſt controverſie between the *Pope* and *Princes* of *Chriſtendom* was about the beſtowing the Livings of the Church, and giving the inveſtiture unto *Biſhops*. The *Popes* had long thirſted after that authority, as being a great meanes to advance their followers, and eſtabliſh their own greatneſs; for which cauſe, in divers petty *Councels*, the receiving of any *Eccleſiaſtical* preferment of a *Layman* was decreed to be *Simony*. But this did little edifie with ſuch patrons as had good Livings: As ſoon as ever *Hildebrand*, in the Catalogue of the *Popes* called *Gregory* the ſeventh, came to the throne of *Rome*, he ſet himſelf entirely to

effect

effect the buſineſs as well in *Germany* now he was *Pope*, as he had done in *France* whilſt he was *Legate*. He commandeth therefore *Henry* the third *Emperour*: *Ne deinceps Epiſcopatus & Beneficia* (they are *Platina*'s own words) *per cupiditatem Simoniacam committat, aliter ſe uſurum in ipſum cenſuris Eccleſiaſticis.* To this injuſtice when the *Emperour* would not yeild, he called a ſolemn *Council* at the *Lateran*, where the *Emperour* was pronounced to be *Simoniacal*, and afterwards excommunicated: Neither would this *Tyrant* ever leave perſecuting of him till he had laid him in his grave. After this followed great ſtrugling between the *Popes* and the *Emperours* for this very matter; but in the end the *Popes* got the victory. In *England* here, he that firſt bickered about it was *William Rufus*, the controverſie being, whether he or *Pope Urban* ſhould inveſt *Anſelme Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*. *Anſelme* would receive his inveſtiture of none but the *Pope*; whereupon the *King* baniſhed him the Realm, into which he was not admitted till the raign of *Henry* the ſecond. He to endear himſelf with his *Clergy* relinquiſhed his right to the *Pope*; but afterwards repenting himſelf of it, he revoked his grant. Neither did the *Engliſh Kings* wholly looſe it, till the raign of that unfortunate Prince *King John*, *Edward* the firſt again recovered it, and his Succeſſors kept it.

The *Popes* having with much violence and oppoſition wreſted into their hands this Priviledge, of nominating *Prieſts* and inveſting *Biſhops*, they ſpared not to lay on what taxes they pleaſed; as on the *Benefices*, *Firſt fruits*, *Penſions*, *Subſidies*, *Fifteenths*,

Fifteenths, Tenths: and on the *Bishoprieks*, for *Palls*, *Mitres*, *Crosiers*, *Rings*, and I know not what bables. By these means the Churches were so impoverished; that upon complaint made unto the *Council* of *Basel*, all these cheating tricks, these *aucupia & capilandi rationes*, were abolished. This *Decree* was called *Pragmatica Sanctio*, and was confirmed in *France* by *Charles* the seventh, *Anno* 1438. An act of singular improvement to the *Church*, and *Kingdom* of *France*; which yearly before, as the Court of Parliament manifested to *Lewis* the eleventh, had drained the State of a million of Crowns. Since which time the *Kings* of *France* have sometimes omitted the vigour of the *Sanction*, and sometimes also exacted it, according as their affairs with the *Pope* stood: for which cause it was called, *franum pontificum*: At the last *King Francis* the first having conquered *Millain*, fell unto this composition with his *Holiness*, namely, that upon the falling of any *Abbacie* or *Bishoprick*, the *King* should have six moneths time to present a fit man unto him; whom the *Pope* legally might invest: If the *King* neglected his time limited, the *Pope* might take the benefit of the relapse, and institute whom he pleased. So is it also with the inferior benifices between the *Pope* and the *Patrons*; insomuch that any or every *Lay-patron* and *Bishop* together in *England*, hath for ought I see (at the least in this particular) as great a spiritual supremacy as the *Pope* in *France*.

Nay to proceed further, and to shew how meerly titular both his supremacies are, as well the *spiritual* as the *temporal*, you may plainly see in the case

Case of the *Jesuites*, wch was thus. In the year 1609. the *Jesuites* had obtained of *King Henry* the fourth license to read again in their Colledge of *Paris*: but when their Letters Patents came to be verified in the Court of Parliament, the *Rector* and *University* opposed them. On the seventeenth of *December*, *Anno* 1611. both parties came to have an hearing; and the *University* got the day, unless the *Jesuits* would subscribe unto these four points: *Viz.* First, that the *Council* was above the *Pope*. Secondly, that the *Pope* had not temporal power over *Kings*, and could not by Excommunication deprive them of their Realms and Estates. Thirdly, that Clergy men having heard of any attempt or conspiracy against the King, or his Realm, or any matter of treason in Confession, they were bound to reveal it. And fourthly, that Clergy men were subject to the *Secular Prince*, or *Politick Magistrate*. It appeared by our former discourse, what title, or no power, they had left the *Pope* over the estates and preferments of the *French*. By these propositions (to which the *Jusuits* in the end subscribed, I know not with what mental reservation) it is more than evident, that they have left him no command, neither over their consciences nor their persons. So that all things considered, we may justly say of the Papal power in *France*, what the *Papists* falsly say of *Erasmus*, namely, that it is *Nomen sine rebus*.

In one thing onely his authority here is entire, which is his immediate protection of all the Orders of *Friers*, and also a *superintendency* or supreme eye over the *Monks*, who acknowledge very small

obedience,

obedience, if any at all, to the *French Bishops*. For though at the beginning every part and member of the *Dioceſs* was directly under the care and command of the *Biſhop*; yet it ſo happened at the building of *Moneſtaries* in the *Weſtern Church*, the *Abbots* being men of good parts and ſincere life, grew much into the envy of their *Dioceſan*. For which cauſe, as alſo to be more at their own command, they made ſuit to the *Pope*, that they might be freed from that ſubjection: *Utque intutelam Dive Petri admitterentur*. A propoſition very plauſible to his *Holineſs* ambition, which by this meanes might the ſooner be raiſed to his height, and therefore without difficulty granted: This gap opened, firſt the ſeveral Orders of *Friers*, and after them the *Deans* and *Chapters* purchaſed to themſelves the like exemptions. In this the *Popes* power was wonderfully ſtrengthened, in having ſuch able and ſo many props to uphold his authority; it being a true *Maxime* in State, *Quod qui privilegia obtenent, ad eadem conſervanda, teneantur authoritatem concedentis tueri*. This continued till the *Council* of *Trent* unqueſtioned, where the *Biſhops* much complained of their want of authority, and imputed all the ſchiſmes and vices in the Church to this, that their hands were tied. Hereupon the *Popes Legates* thought it fit to reſtore to their juriſdiction their *Deans* and *Chapters*: At that of the *Monks* and *Moneſtaries* they were more ſticking: till at the laſt *Sebaſtian Pighinus* one of the *Popes* Officers found out for them this ſatisfaction, that they ſhould have an eye and inſpection into the lives of the *Monks*, not by any authority of their own,

own, *Sed tanquam a sede Apostolica delegati.* But as for the Orders of *Friers*, the Pope would not by any means give way unto it. They are his *Janizaries*, and the strongest bulwarks of his Empire, and are therefore called in a good Author, *Egregia Romanæ Curiæ instrumenta.* So that with them the *Diocesan* hath nothing to do; each severall religious House being as a Court of *Peculiars*, subject onely to the great Metropolitan of *Rome.*

This near dependance on his *Holiness* maketh this generation a great deal more regardless of their behaviour than otherwise it would be, though since the growth of the reformation, shame and fear hath much reformed them. They have still howsoever a spice of their former wantonness, and on occasions will permit themselves a little good fellowship. And to say truth of them, I think them to be the best Companions in *France* for a journey, but not for acquaintance. They live very merrily, and keep a competent table, more I suppose than can stand with their vow, and yet far short of that affluency whereof many of our books accuse them. It was my chance to be in an house of the *Franciscans* in *Paris*, where one of the *Friers*, upon the entreaty of our Friend, had us into the Hall, it being then the time of their Refectory, a favour not vulgar. There saw we the Brothers sitting all on a side, and every one a pretty distance from the other; their several commons being a dish of pottage, a chop of mutton, a dish of Cherries, and a large glass of water. This provision, together with a liberal allowance of ease, and a little of stu-

dy,

dy, keepeth them exceeding plump and in good liking, and maketh them, having little to take thought for, maketh them (as I said before) passing good Company. As I travelled to *Orleans* we had in coach with us three of these mortified sinners; two of the Order of *St. Austin*, and one *Franciscan*, the merriest Crickets that ever chirped. Nothing in them but mad tricks and complements, and for musick they would sing like Hawks; when we came to a vein of good Wine, they would chear up themselves and their neighbour with this comfortable doctrine, *Vivamus ut bibamus, et bibamus ut vivamus*: and for Courtship, and toying with the *Wenches*, you would easily beleeve it had been a trade, with which they had not a little been acquainted. Of all men when I am married God keep my wife from them, and till then my neighbours.

On the other side the common Priests of *France* are so dull and blockish, that you shall hardly meet with a more contemptible people. The meanest of our *Curats* in *England* for spirit and discourse are very *Popes* to them: for learning they may safely say with *Socrates*, *Hoc tantum scimus, quod nescimus*: but you must not look that they should say it in Latine. Tongues they have none but those of their *Mother* and the *Masse Book*; of which last they can make no use, unless the Book be open, and then also the Book is fain to read it self: for in the last *Romanum Missale*, established by the authority of *Pius* the fifth, and recognized by *Clement* the eighth, *Anno* 1600. every

every sillable is diversly marked, whether it must be sounded long or short; just as the varifying examples are in the end of the *English Grammer.* When I had lost my self in the streets of *Paris*, and wanted *French* to enquire homeward, I used to apply my self to some of this reverend habit: But *O sæclum insipiens et infacitum*; you might as easily have wrought water out of the flint, as a word of *Latine* out of their mouthes. Nor is this the disease of the vulgar *Masse mumbler* onely, it hath also infected the right worshipful of the Clergy:

In *Orleans* I had business with a *Chanoin* of the Church of *St. Croix*, a fellow that wore his surplice (it was made of Lawne and Lace) with as good a credit as ever I saw any; and for the comlinesse and capacity of his cap, he might have been a *Metropolitan*: perceiving me to speak to him in a strange Tongue (for it was *Latine*) he very learnedly asked me this question; *Num potestis loqui Gallice?* which when I had denied, at last he brake out into another Interrogatory: viz. *Quandin fuistis in Gallice.* To conclude having read over my Letter, with two or three deadly pangs, and six times rubbing of his temples, he dismissed me with this cordial; and truly it was very comfortable to my humor. *Ego necotias vestras curabo.* A strange beast and one of the greatest prodigies of Ignorance, that ever I met with in mans apparrel.

Such being the *Romish Priests*, it is no marvail if the *French* be no more setled and resolute in their Religion. If the eye be blind, the body cannot chuse but be darkned: and certainly there

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is nothing that hath prepared many of this Realm more to embrace the reformation, than this blockishness of their own Clergy: an excellent advantage to the *Protestant Ministers*, could they but well humor it; and likely to be a fair inlargement to their party, if well husbanded. Besides this the *French Catholicks* are not over earnest in their cause, and so do lye open to the assaults of any politick enemy; to deal with them by main force of argument, and in the fervent spirit of zeal (as the *Protestants* too often do) is not the way: Men uncapable of oppositon (as this people generally are) and furious, if once thwarted, must be tamed as *Alexander* did his Horse *Bucephalus*. Those that came to back him with the tyranny of the spur and a cudgel, he quickly threw down, and mischieved; *Alexander* came otherwise prepared, for turning his Horse toward the Sun, that he might not see the impatiency of his shadow, he spake kindly to him, and gently clapping him on the back, till he had left his flinging and wildness, he lightly leapeth into the saddle, the Horse never making resistance. *Plutarch* in his life relateth the storie, and this the *Morall* of it.

Chap. XII.

The correspondency between the King and the Pope: This Pope: An Omen of the Marriage of France *with* England: *An Eng-*

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lish Catholick's conceit of it. His Holiness Nuntio *in* Paris. *A learned argument to prove the Popes universality. A continuation of the Allegory of* Jacob *and* Esau. *The Protestants compelled to leave their Forts and Towns: Their present estate and strength: The last War against them justly undertaken: not fairly mannaged. Their insolence and disobedience to the Kings command. Their purpose to have themselves a free Estate. The War not a War of Religion. King* James *in justice could not assist them more than he did: First forsaken by their own party. Their happiness before the War. The Court of the Edict. A view of them in their Churches: The commendation which the* French Papists *give to the Church of* England: *Their Discipline and Ministery*, &c.

WE have seen the strength and subtilty, as also somewhat of his poverties at home, let us now see the alliance which this *French Esau* hath abroad in the world: in what credit and opinion he standeth in the eye of *Beeri* the *Romish Hittite*, the daughter of whose abominations he hath married: And here I find him to hold good correspondency, as being the eldest son of the Church: and an equal poize to ballance the affairs of *Italy* against the potency of *Spain*. On this ground the present *Pope* hath alwayes shewed him-

himself very favorable to the *French* side, well knowing into what perils a necessary and impolitick dependance on the *Spanish* party onely would one day bring the state *Ecclesiastick*. As in the general, so in many particulars also, hath he expressed much affection unto him: as first by taking into his hand the *Valtolin*, till his Son of *France* might settle himself in some course to recover it: secondly, his not stirring in the behalf of the *Spaniard* during the last warrs in *Italy*; and thirdly, his speedy and willing grant of the dispensation of *Madames* marriage, of which his *Papacy* was so large an *Omen*, so fair a *Prognostick*.

Est Deus in nobis agitante calescimus illi.

The *Lar*, or *Angel Guardian* of his thoughts hastened him in it, in whose time there was so plausible a presage, that it must be accomplished. For thus it standeth: *Malachy* now a *Saint*, then one of the first *Apostles* of the *Irish*, one much reverenced in his memory to this day by that Nation, left behind him by way of prophesie a certain number of *Motto's* in *Latine*, telling those, that there should follow that certain number of *Popes* onely, whose conditions successively should be hereby expressed in those *Motto's*, according to that order he had placed them in. *Messingham* an Irish Priest, & Master of the College of Irish fugitives in *Paris*, hath collected together the lives of all the *Irish Saints*, which book himself shewed me. In that volume, and the life of that *Saint*, are the several *Motto's*, and the several *Popes*, set down columewise

wise one against the other. I compared the lives of them with the *Motto's*, as farre as my memory would carry me, and found many of them very answerable: as I remember there are thirty six *Motto's* yet to come, and when just as many *Popes* are joyned to them, they are of opinion (for so *Malachy* foretold) that either the world should end, or the *Popedom* be ruined. Amongst others, the *Motto* of the present Pope is most remarkable, and suitable to the cheif action likely to happen in his time, being this [*Lilium & Rosa*] which they interpret, and in my mind not unhappily, to be intended to the conjunction of the *French Lillie* and the *English Rose*. To take from me any suspition of imposture, he shewed me an old book, printed almost two hundred years ago, written by one *Wiona Flemming*, and comparing the number of the *Motto's* with the Catalogue of the *Popes*, I found the name of *Urban* (now *Pope*) directly to answer it: upon this ground an *English Catholike*, whose acquaintance I gained in *France*, made a Copy of Verses in French, and presented them to the *English Embassadors*, the *Earles of Carlisle* and *Holland*; because he is my Friend, and the conceit is not to be despised, I begged them of him, and these are they.

Lilia juncta Rosis.

Emblême de bon' presage de l' alliance de la France, *avec l'* Angleterre.

Ce grand dieu quid' un oecl voit tout ce que les ans
Souos leurs voiles sacrez vont à nous yeux cathans,

Descouvre quelque fois ainsi qui bon luy semble
Et les moux avenir, et les biens tout ensemble.
Ainsc fit il iadis a ce luy, qui primier,
Dans l' Ireland porta de la foye le laurier,
Malachie son nom, qu' autymon de l' Eglise
On verra soir un jour il qui pourfa devise
Aura les Lys chenus ioints aux plus belles fleures
Qui docent le pinstemps de leurs doubles couleurs,
CHARLES est le fleuron de la roso pour prée
HENRITTE est le Lys, que la plus belle pree
De la France nurit, pour estre quelque iour
Et la Reine des fleures, et des roses l' amour
Adorable banquet bien heureux couronne
Que la bonte du ciel, en parrage nous donne
Heureux ma partie, heureux mille fois
Cela qui te fera reflorrier en les Roys.

With these verses I take my leave of his *Holiness*, wishing none of his successors would presage worse luck unto *England*: I go now to see his *Nuntio*, to whose house the same *English Catholike* brought me, but he was not at home, his name is *Ferdinando d' Espado*; a man (as he informed me) able to discharge the trust reposed in him by his Master, and one that very well affecteth the *English* Nation. He hath the faireſt *Eglise*, and keepeth the largest retinue of any ordinary *Embassadour* in the Realm, and maketh good his Masters supremacy by his own precedency. To honour him, against he was to take this charge, his *Holiness* created him *Bishop* of *Damiata* in *Egypt*. A place, which I am certain never any of them saw but in a *Map*; and for the profits he receiveth thence, they will never

never be able to pay for his *Crosier*. But this is one of his *Holines's* usual policies, to satisfie his followers with empty titles. So he made *Bishop* whom he sent to govern for him in *England*

Bishop of *Chalcedon* in *Asia*: and *Smith* also, who is come over about the same business with the *Queen*, *Bishop of Archidala* a City of *Thrace*. An old *English Doctor* used it as an especial argument, to prove the Universality of power in the *Pope*, because he could ordain *Bishops* over all Cities in *Christendom*. If he could as easily also give them the revenue; this reason I confess would much sway me, till then I am sorry, that men should still be boyes and play with bubbles: By the same authority he might do well, to make all his Courtiers *Kings*, and he were sure to have a most Royal and beggerly *Court* of it.

To proceed a little further in the *Allegory*: so it is, that when *Jacob* saw *Esau* to have incurred his Fathers and Mothers anger, for his heathenish marriage; he set himself to bereave his elder brother of his blessing: Prayers and the sweet smell of his Venison, the sweet smelling of his sacrifices obtained of his *Lord* and *Father* a blessing for him, for indeed the *Lord* hath given unto this his *French Jacob*, as it is in the *Text*: *The dew of heaven and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and Wine*, Gen. 27. 5, 28. It followeth in the 41. ver. of the chapter: *And* Esau *hated* Jacob, *because of the blessing wherewith his Father had blessed him*: *and* Esau *said in his heart, the dayes of mourning for my Father are at hand, then will I slay my brother* Jacob: The event of which his bloudy resolution was, that *Jacob*

was fain to relinquish all that he had and fly unto his *Uncle*. This last story expresseth very much of the estate of the *French* Church. The *Papists* hated the *Protestants* to see them thrive and encrease so much amongst them; this hatred moved them to a war, by which they hoped to root them out all together; and this war compelled the *Protestants* to abandon their good Towns, and strong Holds, and all their possessions, and to fly unto their friends whersoever they could find them. And indeed the present estate of the *Protestants* is not much better than that of *Jacob* in *Mesopotamia*, nor much different; the blessing which they expect, lyeth more in the seed than in the harvest, and well may they hope to be restored to the love and bosome of their brethren, of which as yet they have no assurance: For their strength it consisteth principally in their *prayers to God*; and secondly in their obedience to their *King*: Within their two Fortresses, if they can keep themselves, they need fear none ill, because they shall deserve none. The onely outward strengths they have left them are the two Towns of *Montabon* and *Rochell*; the one deemed invincible, the other threatned a speedy destruction. The *Duke of Espernon* (at my being there) lay round about it, and it was said that the Town was in very bad terms; all the neighbouring Townes, to whose opposition they most trusted, having yeilded at the first sight of the Cannon. *Rochell* its thought cannot be forced by assaults, nor compelled by a famine; some *Protestants* are glad of it, and hope to see the *French* Church restored to its former powerableness, by the resi-

and

ance of that Town meerly: I rather think, that the perverse and stubborn condition of it will at last drive the young *King* into a fury, and incite him to revenge their contradiction on their innocent Friends, now disarmed and disabled. Then will they see at last the issue of their own peremptory resolutions, and begin to beleive, that the Heathen *Historian* was of the two the better *Christian*, when he gave us this note. *Non turpe est ab eo vinci, quem vincere esset nefas, neque illi, in honeste etiam summitti, quem fortuna super omnes extulisset.*

This weakness and misery which hath now befallen the *Protestants*, was an effect, I confess, of the ill will which the other party bare them; but that they bare them ill will, was a fruit of their own grafting. In this circumstance they were nothing like *Jacob*, who in the hatred, which his brother *Esau* had to him, was meerly passive. They being active also in the birth of it. And indeed the lamentable and bloudy war which fell upon them, they not onely endeavoured not to avoid, but invited. During the raign of *Henry* the fourth, who would not see it, and the troublesome minority of *Lewis* the thirteenth, who could not molest them, they had made themselves masters of ninety nine Towns, well fortified and enabled for a siege. A strength too great for any one faction to keep together under a *King* which desires to be himself & to rule his people. In the opinion of their potency they call Assemblies, Parliaments, as it were, when and as often as they pleased. There they consulted of the common affairs of Religion, made new Laws of government, removed and exchanged their ge-

neral Officers, the *Kings* leave all this while never so much as formally asked. Had they onely been guilty of too much power, that crime alone had been sufficient to have raised a war against them, it not standing with the safety and honour of a *King*, not to be the absolute commander of his own subjects. But in this their licentious calling of Assemblies, they abused their power into a neglect, and in not dissolving them at his Majesties commandement, they increased their neglect into a disobedience. The Assembly which principally the war and their ruine, was that of *Rochell*, called by the *Protestants* presently upon the *Kings* journey into *Bearne*. This general meeting the *King* prohibited by his especial Edicts; declaring all them to be guilty of treason, which notwithstanding they would not hearken to, but very undutifully went on in their purposes: It was said by a Gentleman of that party, and one that had been employed in many of their affairs, that the very zeal of some who had the guiding of their consciences, had thrusted them into those desperate courses, and I beleive him.

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.

Being assembled, they sent the *King* a Remonstrance of their greivances, to which the *Duke Lesdiguiers*, in a letter to them written, gives them a very fair and plausible answer, wherein also he entreateth them to obey the *Kings* Edict, and break off the Assembly: Upon the receit of this Letter those of the Assembly published a Declaration, wherein

wherein they verified the meeting to be lawful; and their purpose not to dismis themselves till their desires were granted. This affront done to the *King*, made him gather together his forces; yet at the *Duke* of *Lesdiguiers* request, he allowed them twenty four dayes respite before his Armies should march towards them. He offered them also very fair and reasonable conditions, such almost as their *Deputies* had sollicited, but far better than those which they were glad to accept, when all their Towns were taken from them. *Profecto meluctabilis fatorum vis, cujus fortunam mutare constituit, ejus corrumpit consilia:* It holds very rightly in this people, who turned a deaf ear to all good advise, and were resolved, it seemeth, not to hear the voice of the charmer, charmed he never so sweetly. In their Assembly therefore they make Laws and Orders to regulate their disobedience; as that no peace should be made without the consent of the general Convocation, about paying of the Souldiers wages, for the detaining of the Revenues of the *King* and the *Clergy*, and the like. They also have divided *France* into seven circles or parts, assigning over every circle several Generals and Lieutenants, and prescribed Orders how those Generals should proceed in the warr.

Thus we see the *Kings* Army levied upon no sleight grounds. His regal authority was neglected, his especial Edicts violated, his gratious proffers slighted, his revenues forbidden him, and his Realm divided before his face, and alotted unto Officers not of his own election. Had the prosecution of his

action

action been as fair as the cause was just and legal, the *Protestants* onely had deserved the infamy: But *hinc illæ lachrymæ*, the *King* so behaved himself in it, that he suffered the sword to walk at randome, as if his main design had been, not to correct his people, but to ruine them. I will instance onely in the tyrannical slaughter which he permitted at the taking of *Negrepelisse* a Town of *Quercy*, where indeed the Souldiers shewed the very rigor of severity, which either a barbarous Victor could inflict, or a vanquished people suffer. *Nec ullum sævitiæ genus omisit ira & Victoria*: as *Tacitus* of the angred *Romans*: For they spared neither man, nor woman, nor child, all equally subject to the cruelty of the Sword and the Conqueror: the streets paved with dead carcasses, the channels running with the bloud of Christians; no noise in the streets, but of such as were welcoming death, or suing for life. The Churches, which the *Gothes* spared in the sack of *Rome*, were at this place made the *Theaters of lust and bloud*; neither priviledge of Sanctuary, nor fear of *God*, in whose House they were, qualifying their outrage. Thus in the Common places.

At domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu
Miscetur: Penitusq; cavæ clangoribus ædes
Fœminis ululant ——

As *Virgill* in the ruine of *Troy*.

But the calamities which befel the men were merciful and sparing, if compared with those which the women suffered: when the Souldiers had made them

them the Subjects of their luſt, they made them after the ſubjects of their fury; in that onely pittiful to that poor and diſtreſſed Sex, that they did not let them ſurvive their honours. Such of them, who out of fear and faintneſs had made but little reſiſtance, had the favour to be ſtabbed; but thoſe, whoſe virtue and courage maintained their bodies valiantly from the rape of thoſe villains, had the ſecrets of Nature (*Procul hinc eſto caſta miſericondes aures*) filled with Gun-powder, and ſo blown into aſhes. Whether, O *Ye Divine Powers*, is humanity fled, when it is not to be found in Chriſtians? or where ſhall we find the effects of a pittiful nature, when men are become ſo unnatural? It is ſaid, that the *King* was ignorant of this barbarouſneſs, and offended at it: Offended, I perſwade my ſelf, he could not but be, unleſs he had totally put off himſelf and degenerated into a *Tyger*: but for his ignorance, I dare not conceive it to be any other than that of *Nero*, an ignorance rather in his eye than in his underſtanding. *Subduxit oculos Nero* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *juſſitque ſcelera, non ſpectavit.*

Though the *Proteſtants* deſerved affliction for their diſobedience, yet this was an execution above the nature of a puniſhment, a miſery beyond the condition of the crime. True it is, and I ſhall never acquit them of it, that in the time of their proſperity they had done the *King* many affronts, and committed many acts of diſobedience and inſolency, which juſtly occaſioned the warr againſt them. For beſides thoſe already recited, they themſelves firſt brake thoſe *Edicts*, the due execu-

tion

tion whereof seemed to have been their onely petition. The *King* by his *Edict* of *Pacification* had licensed the free exercise of both Religions, and thereupon permitted the *Priests* and *Jesuites* to preach in the Towns of *Caution*, being then in the hands of the *Protestants*. On the other side, the *Protestants* assembled at *Loudan*, straitly commanded all their Governours, Mayors, and Sheriffs, not to suffer any *Jesuits*, or any of any other Order, to preach in their Towns, although licensed by the *Bishop* of the *Diocess*: When upon dislike of their proceedings in that Assembly, the *King* had declared their meetings to be unlawful, and contrary to his peace, and this Declaration was verified against them by the Parliament; they notwithstanding would not separate themselves, but stood still upon terms of capitulation, and the justifiableness of their action. Again, whereas it happened that the *Lord* of *Privas*, a Town full of those of the Religion, dyed in the year 1620. and left his Daughter and Heir in the bed and marriage of the *Viscount* of *Cheylane* a Catholike; this new Lord, according to law and right, in his own Town changed the former Garrison, putting his own servants and dependants in their places. Upon this the *Protestants* of the Town and Country about it, draw themselves in Troops, surprize many of the Towns about it, and at the last compelled the young Gentleman to fly from his inheritance; an action which jumping even with the time of the Assembly at *Rochell*, made the *King* more doubtful of their sincerity. I could add to these divers others of their undutiful practises, being the effects

effects of too much felicity, and of a fortune which they could not govern. *Atqui animus meminisse horret, luctuq; refuget.*

These their insolencies and unruly acts of disobedience made the *King* and his *Council* suspect that their designs tended further than Religion; and that their purpose might be to make themselves a free Estate, after the example of *Geneva* and the *Low Country-men.* The late power which they had taken of calling their own *Synods* and *Convocations*, was a strong argument of their purpose: so also was the intelligence which they held with those of their faith at the *Synod* at *Sappe*, called by the permission of *Henry* the fourth on the first of *October, Anno* 1603. They not onely gave audience to Ambassadours, and received Letters from forrain Princes, but also importuned his Majesty to have a general liberty of going into any other Countreys, and assigning at their Counsel a matter of especial importance. And therefore the *King* upon a foresight of the dangers, wisely prohibited them to go to any Assemblies without a particular licence, upon pain to be declared Traytors. Since that time growing into greater strength, whensoever they had occasion of business with *King Lewis*, they would never treat with him but by their *Embassadors*, and upon especial Articles. An ambition above the quality of those that profess themselves *Sorbonets*, and the onely way, as *Du Seirres* noteth, to make an estate in the *State*: but the answers made unto the *King* by those of *Alerack* and *Montanbon* are pregnant proofs of their intent and meaning in this kind.

The

The first, being summoned by the *King* and his Army the 22. of *July*, *Anno* 1621. returned thus, that the *King* should suffer them to enjoy their liberties, and leave their fortifications as they were for them of their lives, and so they would declare themselves to be his subjects. They of *Montanbon* made a fuller expression of the general design *Disobedience*; which was, that they were resolved to live and die in the *Union* of the Churches: had they said, for the *Service* of the *King*, it had been spoken bravely, but now rebelliously.

This union and confederacy of theirs *King Lewis* used to call, *the Common-wealth of Rochell*; for the overthrow of which he alwayes protested that he had onely taken Arms: and if we compare circumstances, we shall find it to be no other. In the second of *April*, before he had as yet advanced into the Feild, he published a *Declaration* in favour of all those of the Religion, which would contain themselves within duty and obedience. And whereas some of *Tours* at the beginning of the warrs had tumultuously molested the *Protestants* at the burial of one of their dead, five of them by the *Kings* especial commandement were openly executed: When the warr was hotest abroad, those of the *Gospel* at *Paris* lived as securely as ever, and had their accustomed meetings at *Charentan*. So had those also of other places. Moreover when tidings came to *Paris* of the *Duke* of *Mayens* death slain before *Montanbon*, the *Rascal French*, according to their hot headed dispositions, breathed out nothing but ruine to the *Hugonots*; the *Duke* of *Montbazon*, Governour of the City,

commanded

commanded their houſes and the ſtreets to be ſafely guarded. After when this Rabble had burnt down their Temple at *Charentan*, the Court of *Parliament* on the day following ordained, that it ſhould be built up again in a more beautiful manner, and that at the *Kings* charge. Add to this, that ſince the ending of the warrs, and the reduction of almoſt all their Towns, we have not ſeen the leaſt alteration of Religion. Beſides that, they have been permitted to hold a National *Synod* at *Clarenton* for eſtabliſhing the truth of their doctrine, againſt the errors of *Arminius* Profeſſor of *Leiden* in *Holland*.

All things thus conſidered in their true being, I cannot ſee for what cauſe our late Soveraign ſhould ſuffer ſo much envy as he did, for not giving them aſſiſtance. I cannot but ſay, that my ſelf hath too often condemned his remiſsneſs in that cau[illegible]hich upon better conſideration I cannot tell how he ſhould have dealt in. Had he been a meddler in it further than he was, he had not ſo much preſerved Religion as ſupported rebellion; beſides the conſequence of the example. To have aſſiſted the diſobedient *French*, under the colour of the liberty of Conſcience, had been onely to have taught that *King* a way into *England* upon the ſame pretence, and to have troad the path of his own hazard. Further, he had not long before denyed ſuccor to his own children, when he might have given upon a better ground, and for a fairer purpoſe; and could not now in honour countenance the like action in another: For that other denial of his helping hand, I much doubt how farre

poſterity

posterity will acquit him, though certainly he was a good Prince, and had been an happy instrument of the peace of *Christendom*, had not the later part of his raign happened in a time so full of troubles. So that betwixt the quietness of his nature, and the turbulencies of his later dayes, he fell into that miserable exigent mentioned in the *Historian*: *Miserrimum est cum alicui aut natura sua excedenda est, aut minuenda dignitas.* Add to this, that the *French* had first been abandoned at home by their own friends: of seven Generals, whom they had appointed for the seven circles into which they divided all *France*, four of them never giving them incouragement. The three which accepted of those inordinate Governments, were the *Duke* of *Rohan*, his Brother Mr. *Sonbise*, and the *Marquess In Force*: the four others being the *Duke* of *Tremoville*, the *Earl of Chastillon*, the *Duke of Lesdiguier*, and the *Duke* of *Bovillon*, who should have commanded in cheif: So that the *French Protestants* cannot say, that he was first wanting unto them, but they to themselves. If we demand what should move the *French Protestants* to this rebellious contradiction of his Majesties commandements, we must answer, that it was too much happiness: *Causa hujus belli eadem, quæ omnium nimia felicitas*: as *Florus* of the Civil warrs between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*. Before the year 1620. when they fell first into the *Kings* dis-favour, they were possessed of almost an hundred good Towns well fortified for their safety, besides beautiful houses and ample possessions in the Villages. They slept every man under his own Vine, and his own Fig-

tree;

tree, neither fearing nor needing to fear the least disturbance with those of the Catholike party; they were grown so intimate and entire by reason of their inter-marriages; that a very few years would have made them incorporated, if not into one faith, yet into one family: For their better satisfaction in matters of Justice, it pleased *King Henry* the fourth to erect a chamber in the Court of *Parliament* of *Paris* purposely for them. It consisted of one *President* and sixteen *Counsellors*; their office, to take knowledge of all the Causes and Suits of them of the Reformed Religion, as well within the jurisdiction of the *Parliament* of *Paris*, as also in *Normandy* and *Brittain*, till there should be a Chamber erected in either of them. There were appointed also two Chambers in the *Parliament* of *Bourdeaux* and *Grenoble*, and one at *Chasters* for the *Parliament* at *Tholoza*. These Chambers were called, *Les Chambres de l' Edict* because they were established by a special *Edict* at the Town of *Nantes* in *Brittain*, *April* the eighth, *Anno* 1598. In a word, they lived so secure and happy, that one would have thought their felicities had been immortal.

O faciles dare summa Deos eadem q; tueri
Difficiles!

And yet they are not brought so low, but that they may live happily, if they can be content to live obediently, that which is taken from them being matter of strength onely, not privilege.

Let us now look upon them in their Churches, which we ſhall find as empty of magnificence as ceremony: to talk amongſt them of Common prayers, were to fright them with a ſecond coming of the *Maſs*: and to mention Prayers at the burial of the dead, were to perſwade them of a *Purgatory*. Painted glaſs in a Church window is accounted for the flag and enſign of *Antichriſt*, and for *Organs*, no queſtion, but they are deemed the *Devils Bap pipes*: Shew them a Surplice, and they cry out, a rag of the *Whore* of *Babylon*, yet a Sheet upon a Woman when ſhe is in child-bed is a greater abomination than the other: A ſtrange people, that could never think the *Maſs-book* ſufficiently reformed, till they had taken away *Prayers*, nor that their Churches could ever be handſome until they were ragged. This fooliſh oppoſition of their firſt Reformers hath drawn the *Proteſtants* of theſe parts into a world of diſlike and envy, and been no ſmall diſadvantage to their ſide, whereas the Church of *England*, though it differ as much from the *Papiſts* in point of doctrine, is yet not uncharitably thought on by the moderateſt Catholikes, by reaſon it retained ſuch an excellency of diſcipline. When the *Liturgie* of our Church was tranſlated into *Latine* by *Doctor Mocket* once *Warden of All-Souls Colledge in Oxford*, it was with great approof and applauſe received here in *France* by thoſe whom they call *Catholikes Royal*, as marvelling to ſee ſuch order and regular devotion in them, whom they were taught to condemn for heretical An allowance which with ſome little help might have been raiſed higher, from the pra-

cise of our Church, to some points of our judgement. And it is very worthy of our observation, that which the *Marquess* of *Rhosney* spake of *Canterbury*, when he came as extraordinary *Embassadour* from *King Henry* the fourth to welcome *King James* into *England*, for upon the view of our solemn Service and Ceremonies he openly said unto his fellows, that if the reformed Churches in *France* had kept the same orders amongst them which we have, he was assured, that there would have been many thousands more of *Protestants* than now there are. But the *Marquess* of *Rhosney* was not the last that said so: I have heard divers *French Papists*, who were here at the *Queens* coming over, and ventured so far upon an excommunication, as to be present at our Church solemn Services, extolling them, and us for their sakes, even almost unto *Hyperboles*: So graciously is our temper entertained amongst them. As are their Churches, such is their discipline, naked of all antiquity, and almost as modern as the men which embraced it. The power and calling of *Bishops* they abrogated with the *Mass*; upon no other cause, then that *Geneva* had done it. As if that excellent man, Mr. *Calvin*, had been the *Pythagoras* of our age, and his αὐτὸς ἔφη, his *Ipse dixit* had stood for *Oracle*. The *Hierarchi* of *Bishops* thus cast out, they have brought in their places *Lay-Elders*, a kind of *Monsters* never heard of in the Scriptures or first times of the *Gospel*. These men leap from the stall to the *Bench*, and partly sleeping, and partly stroaking their beard, they enact laws of government for the Church: So that we

may justly take up the complaint of the *Satyrist*: saying, *Surgunt nobis e Sterquitineo magistratus, nec dum totis manibus publica tractant negotia*: yet to these very men, composed equally of ignorance and a Trade; are the most weighty matters of the Church committed. In them is the power of ordaining *Priests*, of conferring places of Charge, and even of the severest censure of the Church, *Excommunication*. When any business which concerneth the good of the Congregation is befallen, they must be called to counsel, and you shall find them there as soon as ever they can put off their aprons. Having blotted out there a little classical non-sense, and passed their consents, rather by nodding of their heads, than any other sensible articulation, they hasten to their Shops, as *Quinctius* the *Dictator*, in *Florus*, did to his Plow, *Ut adopus relictum festinasse videatur*. Such a platform though it be, as needeth no further confutation then to know it, yet had it been the more tolerable, if the Contrivers of it had not endeavoured to impose it on all the reformation; by which meanes what troubles have been raised by the great Zealots here in *England*, there is none so young but hath heard some tragical relations. *God* be magnified, and our late *King* praised, by whom this weed hath been snatched up out of the garden of this our *Israel*. As for their Ministery, it is indeed very learned in their study, and exceeding painful in their calling; by the first they confute the ignorant of the *Romish Clergy*: by the second their laziness: And questionless it behoveth them so to be; for living in a Country full of oppositi-

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on, they are forced to a necessity of book-learning to maintain the Cause: and being continually (as it were) beset with spies, did therefore frequent the pulpits to hold up their credits? The maintenance which is allotted them scarce amounteth to a competency, though by that name they please to call it. With receiving of tythes they never meddle, and therefore in their *Systematical Treatats* of *Divinity*, they do hardly allow of paying of them: Some of them hold, that they are *Jewish* and abrogated with the Law: Others think them meerly to be *Jure Humano*: and yet that they may be lawfully accepted where they are tendered. It is well yet, that there are some amongst the which will commend grapes though they cannot reach them: This Competency may come to forty or fifty pound yearly or a little more. *Beza* that great and famous Preacher of *Geneva* had but eighty pound a year, and about that rate was *Peter Martyr* pension, when he preached at *Clarence*. These stipends are partly paid by the *King*, and partly raised by way of Collection. So the Ministers of those Churches are much of the nature of the *English Lecturers*. As for the Tythes, they belong to the several Parish Priests in whose precincts they are due: and those, I warrant you, according to the little learning which they have, will hold them to be *Jure Divino*. The Sermons of the *French* are very plain home-spun, little in them of the *Fathers*, and less of humane learning: it being concluded in the *Synode* of *Sappe*, that onely the *Scriptures* should be used in their pulpits; they consist much of exhortation and use, and of

nothing in a manner which concerneth knowledge. A ready way to raise up and edifie the will and affections, but withall to starve the understanding. For the education of them being Children they have private Schools, when they are better grown, they may have free recourse unto any of the *French Academies*, besides the new *University* of *Saumur* which is wholly theirs, and is the cheif place of their study.

CHAP. XIII.

The connexion between the Church and Common-wealth in general. A transition to the particulars of France: The Government there meerly Regal. A mixt form of Government most commendable. The King Patents for Offices, Monopolies above the censure of the Parliament. The strange Office intended by Mr. Luines: *The King gifts and expences. The Chamber of compts:* France *divided into three sorts of people:* The Conventus Ordinum *nothing but a Title. The inequality between the Nobles and Commons in* France. *The Kings power how much respected by the Princes: The powerableness of that realm. The form of Execution done on them: The multitude and confusion of Nobility. Ki*

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James defended. A Censure of the French Heralds: The power and command of the French Nobles and their Tenants, their Baillages, giblets and other Regalia: *Why they conspire with the Kings and the Commons.*

HAving thus spoken of the Church, I must now treat a little of the Common-wealth. Religion is as the soul of a *State*, Policy as the body; we can hardly discourse of the one without a relation to the other; if we do, we commit a wilful murder in the destroying a *Republick*. The Common-wealth without the Church is but a Carkas or thing inanimate: The Church without the Common-wealth is, as it were, *anima separata*. The joyning of them together maketh of both one flourishing and permanent body: and therefore as they are in nature, so in my relations, *Connubio jungam stabili*. Moreover such a secret simpathy there is between them; such a necessary dependency of one upon the other, that we may say of them what *Tullie* doth of two Twinns in his book *de Fato Horum morbus eodem tempore gravescit, & eodem levatur*. They grow sick and well at the same time, and commonly run out of their race at the same instant. There is besides the general respects each to other, a more particular bond betwixt them here in *France*, which is a likeness and resemblance in the Church of *France*. We have found a *Head* and a *Body*. This *Body* again divided into two parts, the *Catholike* and *Protestant*. The *Head* is

in his own opinion and the minds of many others, of a power unlimited; yet the Catholike party hath strongly cushed it. And of the two parts of the body, we see the *Papists* flourishing and in triumph, whilst that of the *Protestants* is in misery and affliction. Thus it is also in the *Body Politick*, the *King* in his own Conceit boundless and omnipotent, is yet affronted by his *Nobles*: which *Nobles* enjoy all freedom of riches and happiness; the poor *Peasants* in the mean time living in drudgery and bondage.

For the government of the *King* is meerly *Regall*, or to give it the right name, *Despotical*: Though the Country be his Wife, and all the people are his Children, yet doth he neither govern as a Husband or a Father. He accounteth of them all as of his servants, and therefore commandeth them as a Master. In his *Edicts*, which he overfrequently sendeth about, he never mentioned the good will of his Subjects, nor the approbation of his Council, but concludeth all of them in this form, *Car tel est nostre plaisir: sic volo, sic jubeo.* A form of government very prone to degenerate into Tyranny, if the *Prince* had not oftentimes strength and will to make resistance. But this not the vice of the entire and Soveraign Monarchy alone, which the *Greeks* call [illegible], the other two good forms of regiment being subject also to the same frailty. Thus in the reading of Histories have we observed an *Aristocracie* to have been frequently corrupted into an *Oligarchie*: and *Politeia* (or Common-wealth properly so called) into a *Democracie*. For as in the body natural

natural the purest Complexions are less lasting, and easily broken, and subject to alteration. So it is in the body Civil. The pure and unmixt forms of government, though perfect & absolute in their kinds, are of little continuance, and very subject to change into its opposite. They therefore which have written of *Republicks*, do most applaud and commend the mixt manner of Rule, which is equally compounded of the Kingdom and *Politeia*, because in them *Kings* have all the power belonging to their title, without prejudice to the property. In these there is reserved to the *King* absolute Majesty, to the *Nobles* convenient authority, to the people an incorrupted liberty, all in a just and equal proportion. Every one of these is like the *Empire* of *Rome*, as it was moderated by *Nerva*. *Qui res olim dissociabiles miscuerat principatum & libertatem*: wherein the soveraignty of one endamaged not the freedom of all. A rare mixture of government. And such is the Kingdom of *England*. A Kingdom of a perfect and happy composition; wherein the *King* hath his full prerogative, the *Nobles* all due respects, and the *People* amongst other blessings perfect in this, that they are masters of their own purses, and have a strong hand in the making of their own Lawes.

On the other side, in the *Regal* government of *France*, the Subject frameth his life meerly as the *Kings* variable *Edicts* shall please to enjoyn him, is banisht of his money as the *Kings* task-masters think fit, and suffereth many other oppressions, which in their proper place shall be specified. This,

Aristotle

Aristotle in the third book of his *Politicks* calleth ἀρχὰ δεσπότου, or the command of a Master and defineth it to be Λύτη δὲ ἐστι καθ' ἣν ἄρχει παντῶν, κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βούλησιν ὁ βασιλεύς. Such an Empire, by which a *Prince* may command, and do whatsoever shall seem good in his own eyes, one of the Prerogatives *Royall* of the *French Kings*. For though the Court of *Parliament* doth seem to challenge a perusal of his *Edicts* before they pass for Laws, yet is this but a meer formality: It is the *Cattell est nostre plaisir*, which maketh them currant, which it seemeth these *Princes* learned of the *Roman Emperours*, *Justinian* in the book of *Institutions* maketh five parts of the Civil Lawes: *Viz.* (He meaneth the Law of the twelve Tables:) *Plebiscita*, *Senatus consulta*, *Prudentum responsa*, and *Principum placita*: To this last he addeth this general strength, *Quod principi placuerit legis habet valorem*: The very foundation of the *Kings* powerfulness. True it is yet, that the Courts of *Parliament* do use to demurre sometimes upon his *Patents* and *Decrees*, and to petition him for a Reversal of them: but his answer commonly is, *Stat pro ratione Voluntas*. He knoweth his own power, and granteth *Letters Patents* for new Offices and Monopolies abundantly. If a moneyed man can make a friend in Court, he may have an Office found for him, of six pence upon every Sword made in *France*: a *liure* upon the selling of every head of Cattel: a brace of *soles* for every pair of boots, and the like. It is the onely study of some men, to find out such devices of enriching themselves and undoing the people. The Patent

tent for *Mines* granted to *Sir Giles Mompesson*, was just one of the *French* Offices. As for *Monopolies*, they are here so common, that the Subject taketh no notice of it; not a scurvy petty book being printed, but it hath its priviledge affixed, *ne imprimendum solum*. These being granted by the *King*, are carried to the *Parliament*, by them formally perused, and finally verified: after which they are in force and vertue against all opposition.

It is said in *France*, that Mr. *Luines* had obtained a *Patent* of the *King* for a *quart d' Escu* to be paid unto him for the Christning of every Child throughout the *Kingdom*. A very unjust and unconscionable extortion: Had he lived to have presented it to the Court, I much doubt of their denial, though the onely cause of bringing before them such *Patents*, is onely intended, that they should discuss the justice and convenience of them.

As the *Parliament* hath a formality of power left in them of verifying the *Kings Edicts*, his grants of Offices and *Monopolies*; so hath the Chamber of Accompts, a superficial survey of his gifts and expences: For his expences, they are thought to be as great now as ever, by reason of the several retinues of *Himself*, his *Mother*, his *Queen*, and the *Monsieur*. Neither are his gifts lessened. The late warrs which he managed against the *Protestants* cost him dear, he being fain to bind unto him most of his *Princes* by money and Pensions. As the expences of the *King* are brought unto this Court to be examined, so are

also

also the gifts and pensions by him granted to be ratified. The fitulary power given to this *Chamber*, is to cut off all those of the *Kings* grants which have no good ground and foundation, the Officers being solemnly, at the least formally, sworn, not to suffer any thing to pass them to the detriment of the *Kingdom*, whatsoever Letters of Command they have to the contrary. But with this Oath they do oftentimes dispense. To this *Court* also belongeth the Enfranchisement or *Naturalization* of *Aliens*. Anciently certain *Lords*, *Officers* of the Crown, and of the *Privie Council*, were appointed to look into the Accompts: now it is made an ordinary and soveraign Court, consisting of two *Presidents*, and divers *Auditors*, and after, under Officers. The Chamber wherein it is kept is called, *La Chambre des Comptes*, it is the beautifullest piece of the whole Palace, the great Chamber it self not being worthy to be named in the same day with it. It was built by *Charles* the eighth, *Anno* 1485, afterwards adorned and beautified by *Lewis* the twelfth, whose *Statua* is there standing in his Royal Robes, and the *Scepter* in his hand; he is accompanied by the four *Cardinal-Virtues*, expressed by way of *Hieroglychick*, very properly and cunning: each of them have in them its particular *Motto* to declare its being. The *Kings* Portraicture also as if he were the fifth Virtue, had its word under-written, and contained in a couple of verses, which (let all that love the *Muses* skip them in the reading) are these:

Quatuor

Quatuor has comites fowro, cæleſtia dona
Innocuæ pacis, proſpera ſceptra gerens.

From the *King* deſcend we to the Subjects, *ab equis, quod aiunt, ad aſinos*; and the phraſe is not much improper; the French Commonalty being called the *Kings Aſſes*. Theſe are divided into three ranks or Claſſes, the *Clergy*, the *Nobleſs*, the *Paiſants*, out of which certain *Delegates* or *Committees*, choſen upon an occaſion, and ſent to the *King*, did anciently concurre to the making of the ſupreme Court for juſtice in *France*, it was called the *Aſſembly* of the three *Eſtates*, or *Conventus Ordinum*, and was juſt like the Parliament of *England*, but theſe meetings are now forgotten or out of uſe, neither indeed, as this time goeth, can they any way advantage the *State*. For whereas there are three principal if not ſole cauſes of theſe Conventions, which are, the diſpoſing of the Regenty during the non-age or ſickneſs of a *King*; the granting aids or ſubſidies, and the redreſſing of grievances, there is now another courſe taken in them. The Parliament of *Paris*, which ſpeaketh as it is prompted by power and greatneſs, appointeth the *Regent*: the *Kings* themſelves with their Officers determine of the taxes, and as concerning their grievances, the *Kings* ear is open to private Petitions. Thus is that title of a Common-wealth, which went to the making up of this Monarchy, eſcheated or rather devoured by the *King*: that name alone containing in it both *Clergy*, *Princes* and *People*; ſo that ſome of the *French Counſellors*

may

may say with *Tully* in his Oration for *Marcellus* unto *Cæsar*, *Doleoque cum Respublica immortalis esse debeat, eam unius mortalis anima consistere*: yet I cannot but withal affirm, that the *Princes* and *Nobles* of *France* do, for as much as concerneth themselves, upon all advantages fly off from the *Kings* obedience; but all this while the poor *Paisant* is ruined. Let the poor Tennant starve, or eat the bread of carefulness, it matters not, so they may have their pleasure, and be accompted firm Zealots of the Common liberty, and certainly this is the issue of it; the Farmer liveth the life of a slave to maintain his *Lord* in pride and laziness, the *Lord* leadeth the life of a *King* to oppress his Tennant by fines and exactions. An equality little answerable to the old platforms of *Republicks*. *Aristotle*, *genius ille naturæ*, as a learned man calleth him, in his fourth book of *Politicks* hath an excellent discourse concerning this disproportion. In that chapter his project is to have a correspondency so far between Subjects under the *King*, or people of the same City, that neither the one might be over rich, nor the other too miserably poor. They, saith he, which are too happy, strong, or rich, or greatly favoured, and the like, cannot nor will not obey, with which evil they are infected from their infancy. The other, through want of these things, are too abjectly minded and base, for that the one cannot but command, and the other but serve, and this he calleth, Δούλων καὶ δεσποτῶν πόλις, a City inhabited onely by slaves and tyrants. That questionless is the most perfect and compleat form of Government: *Ubi veneratur potentem*

potentem humilis, moxtimet, antecedit, non contemnit humiliorem potens, as *Velleius*. But this is an happiness whereof *France* is not capable, their *Lords* being *Kings*, and their *Commons Villains*. And to say no less of them than in truth they are, the *Princes* of this Country are little inferior in matters of *Royalty* to any *King* abroad, and by consequence little respective in matter of obedience to their own *King* at home. Upon the least discontent they will draw themselves from the Court, or put themselves into Arms; and of all other comforts are ever sure of this, that they shall never want partizans, neither do they use to stand off from him fearfully and at distance, but justifie their revolt by publike declaration, and think the *King* much indebted to them, if upon fair terms, and an honourable reconcilement, they will please to put themselves again into his obedience. *Henry* the fourth was a Prince of as undanted and uncontroulable a spirit, as ever any of his Predecessors, and one that loved to be obeyed, yet was he also very frequently baffled by these *Roytelets*, and at the last died in an affront.

The Prince of *Conde* perceiving the *Kings* affection to his new *Lady*, began to grow jealous of him, for which reason he retired unto *Bruxels*. The *King* offended at this retreat sent after him, and commanded him home: The *Prince* returned answer, that he was the *Kings* most humble Subject and Servant, but into *France* he would not come, unless he might have a Town for his assurance, withal he protested in publike writing a *Nullity* of any thing that should be done to his

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prejudice in his absence. A stomackful resolution, and somewhat misbecoming a Subject: yet in this opposition he persisted, his humour of disobedience out-living the *King* whom he had thus affronted. But these tricks are ordinary here, otherwise a man might have construed this action by the term of rebellion. The chief meanes whereby these *Princes* become so head-strong, is an immunity given them by their *Kings*, and a liberty which they have taken to themselves: By their *Kings* they have been absolutely exempted from all tributes, tolles, taxes, customs, impositions and subsidies; by them they have been alwayes estated in whole entire Provinces, with a power of *Haute and many justice* (as the *Lawyers* term it) passed over unto them: the *Kings* having scarce an homage or acknowledgement of them. To this they have added much to their strength and security, by the inconcing and fortifying their houses, which both often moveth & afterwards enableth the to contemn his Majesty. An example we have of this in the Castle of *Rochforte*, belonging to the *Duke* of *Tremoville*, which in the long *Civil Warr*, endured a shelf of five thousand shot and yet was not taken. A very impolitick course (in my conceit) in the French, to bestow honours and immunities upon those, *Qui* (as the Historian saith) *eu suo arbitrio aut reposcituri, aut retenturem videantur, quique modum habent in sua voluntate*. For upon a knowledge of this strength in themselves, the *Princes* have been alwayes prone to civil Warrs, as having sufficient means for safety and resistance. On this ground all they write

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the *Kings* authority, and disobey his justice. Insomuch that the greatest sort of *Nobles* in this *Kingdom* can seldom be arraigned or executed in person, and therefore the Laws condemn them in their images, and hang them in their pictures. A pretty device to work justice. If by chance or some handsome sleight any of them be apprehended, they are put under a sure guard, and not doomed to death without great fear of tumult and unquietness. Neither is it *Unus & alter*, onely some two or three that thus stand upon their distance with the *King*, but even all the *Nobility* of the Realm. A rout so disordered, unconfined and numberless, that even *Fabius* himself would be out of breath in making the reckoning. I speak not here of those that are stiled *La Noblesse*, but of *Titulados*, men onely of titular *Nobility*, of the degree of *Baron* and above: of these there is in this Country a number almost innumerable, *quot Cœlum stellas*, take quantity for quantity, and I dare be of the opinion, that Heaven hath not more Stars than *France Nobles*; you shall meet with them so thick in the *Kings* Court especially, that you would think it almost impossible the Country should bear any other fruit. This I think I may safely affirm and without *Hyperbole*, that they have there as many *Princes* as we in *England* have *Dukes*, as many *Dukes* as we *Earls*, as many *Earls* as we *Barons*, as many *Barons* as we *Knights*. A jolly company, and such as know their own strength too. I cannot but as much marvel, that those *Kings* should be so prodigal in conferring honours, considering this, that

every *Nobleman* he createth is so great a weakening to his power. On the other side, I cannot but as much wonder at some of our *Nation*, who have murmured against our late Soveraign, and accused him of an unpardonable unthriftiness, in bestowing the dignities of his Realm with so full and liberal an hand. Certainly could there any danger have risen by it unto the State, I could have been as impetient of it as another. But with us titles and ennobling in this kind, are onely either the *Kings* favour, or the parties merit, & maketh whomsoever he be that receiveth them, rather reverenced than powerful. *Raro eorum honoribus invidetur quorum vis non timetur*, was a good Aphorism in the dayes of *Paterculus*, and may, for ought I know, be as good still: Why should I envy any man that honour, which taketh not from my safety, or repine at my Soveraign for raising any of his Servants into an higher degree of eminency, when that favour cannot make them exorbitant. Besides it concerneth the improvement of the *Exchequer* at the occasions of Subsidies: and the glory of the *Kingdom*, when the *Prince* is not attended by men meerly of the *Vulgar*. Add to this the few *Noble men* of any title, which he found at his happy coming in amongst us, and the additions of power which his coming brought unto us, and we shall find it proportionable, that he should enlarge our *Nobility* with our Country. Neither yet have we indeed a number to be talked of, comparing us with our neighbour *Nations*. We may see all of the three first rank in the books of *Miles*, *Brook*, and *Vincent*, and we are promised

sed also a Catalogue of the creations and successions of all our *Barons*; then we should see, that as yet we have not surfeited. Were this care taken by the *Heralds* in *France*, perhaps the *Nobility* there would not seem so numberless, sure I am, not so confused: but this is the main vice of that profession: of six *Heralds* which they have amongst them, *Viz. Mounjoy*, *Normandy*, *Guyenne*, *Valoys*, *Britain*, and *Burgoyne*, not one of them is reported to be a *Genealogist*: Neither were their *Predecessors* better affected to this study. *Peradine* the onely man that ever was amongst them, hath drawn down the *Genealogies* of twenty four of the cheif Families, all eminent and of the bloud; in which he hath excellently well discharged himself: but what a small pittance is that, compared to the present multitude.

The *Nobles* being so populous, it cannot be but the *Nobless* (as they call them) that is, the *Gentry*, must needs be thick set, and onely not innumerable. Of these *Nobless* there be some that hold their estates immediately of the *Crown*, and they have the like immunity with the *Princes*. Some hold their *feifes* (or *feuda*) of some other of the *Lords*, and he hath onely *Basse justice* permitted to him, as to mulct and amerce his Tennants, to imprison them, or to give them any other correction under death. All of them have power to raise and enhaunce up their rents, to tax his Subjects on occasion, and to prohibite them such pleasures, as they think fit to be reserved for themselves. In *Gretsant* in *Picardie* I saw a post fastened in the ground, like a race-post with us, and thereon an in-

ſcription, I made preſently to it, as hoping to have heard news of ſõe memorable battel there fought, but when I came at it, I found it to be nothing but a declaration of the *Prince* of *Condes* pleaſure, that no man ſhould hunt in thoſe quarters. Afterward I obſerved them to be very frequent. But not to wander through all particulars, I will in ſome few of them onely give inſtance of their power here.

The firſt is *Droict de Balliage*, power to keep *Aſſizes*, or to have under them a *Baillie*, and an *Imperial* ſeat of juſtice, for the definition of ſuch cauſes as fall under the compaſs of ordinary juriſdiction. In this Court there is notice taken of treaſon, robberies, murthers, protections, pardons, fairs, markets, and other matters of priviledge.

Next they have a Court of ordinary juriſdiction, and therein a *Judge*, whom they call *Le Guarde de Juſtice*, for the deciſion of ſmaller buſineſs, as debts, treſpaſs, breach of the *Kings* peace, and the like. In this the purſe is onely emptied; the other extendeth to the taking away of the life; for which every one that hath *Hante Juſtice* annexed to his *feife*, hath alſo his particular Gibbet. Nay, which is wonderful methodical, by the *Criticiſme* of the *Gibbet* you may judge at the quality of him that owneth it, for the *Gibbet* of one of the *Nobleſſe* hath but two pillars, that of the *Chaſtellan* three, the *Barons* four, the *Earls* ſix, the *Dukes* eight, and yet this difference is rather preciſe than general.

The laſt of their *jura Regalia*, which I will here ſpeak of, is the Command they have upon the peo-

ple

ple to follow them unto the warrs, a Command not so advantagious to the *Lord*, as dangerous to the *Kingdom*.

Thus live the *French Princes*, thus the *Noblesse*, thus those Sheep which *God* and the *Laws* hath brought under them, they do not shear, but fleece them, and (which is worse than this) having themselves taken away the wooll, they give up the naked carcass to the *King*. *Tonderi pecus meas volo, non deglubi*; was accounted one of the golden sayings of *Tiberius*, but it is not currant here in *France*: Here the *Lord* and the *King*, though otherwise at odds amongst themselves, be sure to agree in this, the undoing and oppressing of the *Paisant*. *Ephraim* against *Manasseh*, and *Manasseh* against *Ephraim*, but both against *Juda*, saith the *Scripture*. The reason why they thus desire the poverty of the Commons, is, as they pretend, the safety of the *State*, and their own particulars. Were the people once warmed with the feeling of ease, and their own riches, they would be presently hearkening after the Warrs. And if no employment were offered abroad, they would make some at home. Histories and experience hath taught us enough of this humour in this kind: it being impossible for this hot-headed and hare-brain'd people not to be doing. *Si extraneus deest domi hostem quarunt*: as *Justin* hath observed of the ancient *Spaniards*. A pretty quality, and for which they have often smarted.

Chap. XIV.

The base and low estate of the French Paisant. The misery of them under their Lords. The bed of Procrustes. *The suppressing of the Subject prejudicial to a State. The Wisdom of* King Henry *the seventh. The French forces all in the Cavillery. The cruel Impositions laid upon the people by the King. No Demain in* France. *Why the trial by twelve men can be used onely in* England. *The gabel of Salt. The Popes licence for wenching. The gabel by whom refused, and why the* Gascoines *impatient of taxes. The Taille and Taylon. The Pancarte or aids, the vain resistance of those of* Paris. *The Court of aids. The manner of gathering the Kings moneys. The Kings Revenue. The corruption of the French Publicans. King* Lewis *why called the Fust. The moneys currant in* France. *The gold of* Spain *more Catholike than the King. The happiness of English Subjects.*

BY that which hath been spoken already of the *Nobless*, we may partly guess at the low estate of the *Paisant* or Country man: of whom we will not now speak, as Subjects to their *Lords*, and how farre

farre they are under their commandment, but how miserable and wretched they are in their apparel and their houses: For their apparel, it is well if they can allow themselves Canvas, or an outside of that nature: As for Cloath, it is above their purse, equally, and their ambition: if they can aspire unto Fustian, they are as happy as their wishes: and he that is so arrayed, will not spare to aim at the best place in the Parish, even unto that of Church-Warden. When they go to plow or to the Church they have shooes and stockings; at other times they make bold with Nature and wear their skins. Hats they will not want though their bellies pinch for it: and that you may be sure they have them, they will alwayes keep them on their heads. The most impudent custom of a beggarly fortune that ever I met with; and which already hath had my blessing. As for the Women, they know in what degree Nature hath created them, and therefore dare not be so fine as their Husbands: some of them never had above one pair of stockings in all their lives, which they wear every day, for indeed they are very durable: the goodness of their faces tells us that they have no need of a band, therefore they use none. And as concerning petticoats, so it is, that all have such a garment, but most of them so short, that you would imagine them to be cut off at the placket: When the parents have sufficiently worn these vestures, and that commonly is till the rottenness of them will save the labour of undressing; they are a new cut out and fitted to the Children. Search into their houses, and you shall find them very

wretched, and destitute, as well of furniture as provision. No butter salted up against Winter, no poudering tub, no pullein in the rick barten, no flesh in the pot, or at the spit, and which is worse, no money to buy them. The description of the poor aged couple, *Philemon* and *Baucis*, in the eigth book of the *Metamorphosis*, is a perfect character of the *French Paisant* in his house-keeping, though I cannot affirm, that if *Jupiter* and *Mercury* did come amongst them, they should have so hearty an entertainment; for thus *Ovid* marshelleth the dishes.

Ponitur hic bicolor sincerâ bacca Minervæ
Intubaque & radix, & lactis Massa coacti
Ovaque non acri leviter versata favillâ,
Prunaque & in patulis redolentia mala canistris
Hic nux, hic mixta est rugosis carica palmis
Et de purpureis collecta vitibus uva.
Omnia fictilibus nitent.

They on the Table set *Minerva's* fruit;
The double coulour'd Olive: Endive root,
Raddish & Cheese, and to the board there came
A dish of Eggs ne're roasted by the flame:
Next they had Nuts, course Dates & lenten Figs,
And Apples from a basket made with twigs.
And Plums and Grapes cut newly from the tree,
All serv'd in earthen dishes huswifelie.

But you must not look for this chear often: At *Wakes* or feast days, you may perchance be so happy as to see this plenty: but at other times, *omnia omnes patilla,*

patilla, the best provision they can shew you, is a piece of *Bacon* wherewith to fatten their pottage, and now and then the inwards of Beasts killed for the Gentleman. But of their miseries, this methinketh is the greatest, that sowing so many acres of excellent Wheat in a year, and gathering in such a plentiful vintage as they do, they should not yet be so fortunate as to eat white bread, or drink Wine: for such infinite rents do they pay to their *Lords*, and such innumerable taxes to the *King*, that the profits arising out of these commodities are onely sufficient to pay their duties, and keep them from the extremities of cold and famine. The bread which they eat is of the coursest flower, and so black that it cannot admit the name of brown, and as for their drink, they have recourse unto the next fountain: A people of any the most infortunate; not permitted to enjoy the fruit of their labours: and such as above all others are subject to that *Sarcasme* in the *Gospel*, *This man planted a Vineyard, and doth not drink of the fruit thereof.*

Nec prosunt Domino, quæ prosunt omnibus artes.

Yet were their cases not altogether so deplorable, if there were but hopes left to them of a better; if they could but compass this certainty, that a painful drudging and thrifty saving would one day bring them out of this hell of bondage. In this questionless they are entirely miserable; in that they are sensible of their present fortunes, and dare not labour nor expect an alteration.

If

If industry and a sparing hand hath raised any of these afflicted people so high, that he is but four or five shillings richer than his neighbour, his *Lord* immediately enhanceth his rent, and enformeth the *King* task-masters of his riches; by which meanes he is within two or three years brought into equal poverty with the rest. A strange course and much different from that of *England*; where the *Gentry* take a delight in having their Tennants thrive under them, and account it no crime in any that hold of them to be wealthy. On the other side, those of *France* can abide no body to gain or grow rich upon their Farms, and therefore thus upon all occasions rack their poor Tennants. In which they are like the *Tyrant Procrustes*, who laying hands upon all he met, cast them upon his bed: if they were shorter than it, he racked their joynts till he had made them even to it; if they were longer, he cut as much of their bodies from them as did hang over; so keeping all that fell into his power in an equality of stature. I need not make further application of the story but this, that the *French Lords* are like that *Tyrant*.

How much this course doth depress the military power of the Kingdom, is apparent by the true principles of warr, and the examples of other Countries. For it hath been held the general opinion of the best judgements in matters of war, that the main buttress and pillar of an Army is the foot, or (as the *Martialists* termit) the infantry. Now to make a good infantry, it requireth that men be brought up not in nasty or needy fashion of life; but in some free and liberal manner.

Therefore

Therefore it is well observed by the *Viscount St. Albons* in his history of *Henry* the seventh, that if a State run most to *Nobles* and *Gentry*, and that the Husbandmen be but as their meer drudges, or else simple Cottagers, that that State may have a good *Cavalleria*, but never good stable bands of Foot; like to Coppines wood, in which, if you let them grow too thick in the standerds, they will run to bushes or briers, and have little clean under wood. Neither is it thus in *Fraunce* onely, but in *Italy* also, and some other parts abroad; insomuch that they are enforced to employ mercenary Souldiers for their battalions of Foot; whereby it cometh to pass in those Countries, that they have much people but few men.

On this consideration *King Henry* the seventh, one of the wisest of our *Princes*, took a course so cunning and wholesome for the encrease of the military power of this Realm, that though it be much less in territories, yet it should have infinitely more Souldiers of its native forces than its neighbour Nations. For in the fourth year of his raign there passed an Act of Parliament pretensively against the depopulation of Villages and decay of tillage, but purposely to make his Subjects for the warrs. The Act was, that all houses of Husbandry which had been used with twenty acres of ground and upwards should be maintained and kept up for ever, together with a competent proportion of Land to be used and occupied with them, &c. By this meanes the houses being kept up, did of necessity enforce a dweller, and that dweller, because of the proportion of Land, not to

be

be a beggar, but a man of some substance, able to keep hinds and servants, and to set the Plow going. An Order which did wonderfully concern the might and manhood of the Kingdom, these Farmers being sufficient to maintain an able body out of penury, and by consequence to prepare them for service, and encourage them to high honours; for,

Haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat
Res angusta domi ——

As the *Poet* hath it.

But this Ordinance is not thought of such use in *France*; where all the hopes of their Armies consist in the Cavallery or the Horse: which perhaps is the cause why our Ancestors have won so many battels upon them: As for the *French* Foot, they are quite out of all reputation, and are accounted to be the basest and unworthiest company in the world.

Besides, should the *French* people be enfranchized as it were from the tyranny of their *Lords*, and estated in free hold, and other tenures after the manner of *England*, it would much trouble the *Councill* of *France* to find out a new way of raising the *Kings* Revenues, which are now meerly sucked out of the blood and sweat of the Subject. Anciently the *Kings* of *France* had rich and plentiful demeasnes, such as was sufficient to maintain their Majesty and greatness, without being burdensome unto the Country. Pride in matters of sumptuousness and the tedious Civil warrs which have lasted

lasted in this Country almost ever since the death of *Henry* the second, have been the occasion, that most of the Crown Lands have been sold and morgaged: insomuch that the people are now become the *Demain*, and the Subject onely is the revenue of the Crown; by the sweat of their brows is the Court fed and the Souldier paid, and by their labours are the *Princes* maintained in idleness. What impositions soever it pleaseth the *King* to put upon them, it is almost a point of treason, not onely to deny, but to question: *Apud illos vere regnatur, nefasque quantum regi liceat dubitare*; as one of them: The *Kings* hand lieth hard upon them, and hath almost thrust them into an Egyptian bondage: the poor *Paisant* being constrained to make up daily his full tale of brick, and yet have no straw allowed him. Upon the sight of these miseries and poverties of this people, Sir *John Forteſcue Chancellor* of *England*, in his book intituled, *De laudibus Regum Angliæ*, concludeth them to be unfit men for *Jurers* or *Judges*, should the custom of the Country admit of such a trial: for having proved there unto the *Prince* (he was Son unto *Henry* the sixth) that the manner of trial, according to the Common Law, by twelve *Jurats*, was more commendable than the practise of the Civil or Imperial Laws, by the deposition onely of two Witnesses, or the forced confession of the person arraigned: the *Prince* seemed to marvel, *Cur ea Angliæ quæ tam frugi & optabilis est, non sit toti mundo communis*: to this he maketh answer, by shewing the free condition of the *English* Subjects, who alone are used at these

Inditements,

Inditements; men of a fair and large estate, such as dwell nigh the place of the deed committed: men that are of ingenuous education, such as scorn to be suborned or corrupted, and afraid of infamy. Then he sheweth how in other places all things are contrary: the Husbandman an absolute beggar, easie to be bribed by reason of his poverty: The Gentlemen living far asunder, and so taking no notice of the fact. The *Paisant* also neither fearing infamy nor loss of goods if he be found faulty, because he hath them not. In the end he concludeth thus: *Nec mirum igitur princeps, si lex quæ* Anglia *veritas inquiritur, ab ea non pervagetur in alias nationes: Ipsæ namque, ut* Anglia *nequeunt facere sufficientes, consimilesque juratas.* The last part of the *Latine* favoureth somewhat of the *Lawyer*; the word *Jurata* being there put to signifie a *Jury*.

To go over all those impositions, which this miserable people are afflicted withal, were almost as wretched as the payment of them. I will therefore speak onely of the principal: and here I meet in the first place with the *gabel* or imposition on *Salt*. This *gabelle de Sel*, this Impost on Salt was first begun by *Philip* the *Long*, who took for it a *Double*, which is half a *Sol*, upon the pound. After whom *Philip de Valoys*, *Anno* 1328. doubled it. *Charles* the seventh raised it unto three *Doubles*, and *Lewis* the eleventh unto six; since that time it hath been altered from so much upon the pound to a certain rate on the Maid, which containeth some thirty bushels *English*, the rates rising and falling at the *Kings* pleasure. This one Commo-

dity

dity were very advantagious to the *Exchequer*, were it all in the *Kings* hands; but at this time a great part of it is morgaged. It is thought to be worth unto the *King* three millions of Crowns yearly, that onely of *Paris* and the *Provosts* seven Daughters being farmed at 1700000. Crowns the year. The late *Kings* since *Anno* 1581. being intangled in warrs, have been constrained to let it to others; insomuch that about *Anno* 1599. the *King* lost above 800000. Crowns yearly: and no longer then *Anno* 1621. the *King* taking up 600000. pounds of the *Provost* of the *Merchants* and the *Eschevins*, gave unto them a Rent charge of 40000. pound yearly, to be issuing out of the customs of Salt till their money were repaid them. This *gabel* is indeed a *Monopolie*, and that one of the unjustest and unmeasurablest in the world: for no man in the Kingdom (those Countries hereafter mentioned excepted) can eat any Salt, but he must buy it of the *King*, and at his price, which is most unconscionable; that being sold at *Paris* and elsewhere for five *livres*, which in the exempted places is sold for one. Therefore that the *Kings* profits might not be diminished, there is diligent watch and ward, that no forrain Salt be brought into the Land, upon pain of forfeiture and imprisonment. A search that is made so strictly, that we had much ado at *Diepe* to be pardoned the searching of our Trunks and Port-mantues; and that not but upon our solemn protestations, that we had none of that Commodity. This Salt is of a brown colour, being onely such as we in *England* call *Bay Salt*, & is imposed on the Subjects by the

the *Kings* Officers with great rigor. For though they have ſome of their laſt proviſion in the houſe, or perchance would be content (through poverty) to eat their meat without it; yet will theſe cruel villains enforce them to take ſuch a quantity of them; howſoever they will have of them ſo much money. But this tyranny is not general; the *Normans* and *Picards* enduring moſt of it, and the other *Paiſants* the reſt. Much like unto this was the licence which the *Popes* and *Biſhops* of old granted in matter of keeping *Concubines*: for when ſuch as had the charge of gathering the *Popes* rents happened upon a Prieſt which had no *Concubine*, and for that cauſe made denial of the tribute, the Collectors would return them this anſwer, that notwithſtanding this they ſhould pay down the money, becauſe they might have had the keeping of a Wench if they would.

This *gabel* as it ſitteth hard upon ſome, ſo are there ſome alſo, who are never troubled with it: of this ſort are the *Princes* in the general releaſe, and many of the *Nobleſs* in particular: inſomuch that it was proved unto *King Lewis*, *Anno* 1614. that for every Gentleman which took of his Majeſties Salt, there were two thouſand of the Commons. There are alſo ſome entire Provinces which refuſe to eat of this Salt, as *Britain*, *Gaſcoine*, *Poictou*, *Quercn*, *Naintogne*, and the *County* of *Boulonnois*. Of theſe the *County* of *Boulonnois* pretendeth a peculiar exemption, as belonging immediately to the patrimony of our *Lady* (*Noſtre-Dame*) of which we ſhall learn more when we are in *Boviſſon*. The *Britains* came united to the Crown by a

faſt

fair marriage, and had ſtrength enough to make their own Capitulations, when they firſt entered into the *French* ſubjection; beſides, here are yet divers of the *Ducal* Family living in the Country, who would much trouble the quiet of the Kingdom, ſhould the people be oppreſſed with this bondage, and they take the protection of them. *Poiſtou* and *Querein* have compounded for it with the former *Kings*, and pay a certain rent yearly, which is called the *Equivalent*. *Xaintoone* is under the command of *Rochell*, of whom it receiveth ſufficient at a better rate. And as for the *Gaſcoynes* the *King* dareth not impoſe it upon them for fear of rebellion. They are a ſtubborn and churliſh people, very impatient of a rigorous yoak; and ſuch as inherit a full meaſure of the *Beiſeains* liberty and ſpirit, from whom they are deſcended. *Le Droit de fonage*, the priviledge of levying of a certain peice of money upon every Chimney in an houſe that ſmoaked, was in times not long ſince one of the *Jura Regalia* of the *French Lords*, and the people paid it without grumbling: yet when *Edward* the black Prince returned from his unhappy journey into *Spain*, and for the paying of his Souldiers to who he was indebted, laid this *fonage* upon the people, being then *Engliſh*, they all preſently revolted to the *French*, and brought great prejudice to our affairs in thoſe quarters.

Next unto the *Gabel* of Salt we may place the *Taille* and the *Taillon*; which are much of a nature with the *Subſidies* in *England*, being granted by the people, and the ſum of that certain, ſhall pleaſe to impoſe them. Anciently the *Tailles* were

were onely levied by way of extraordinary subsidie, and that upon four occasions, which were, the *Knighting* of the *Kings* Son, the *Marriage* of his *Daughters*, a *Voyage* of the *Kings* beyond Sea, and his *Ransome* in case he were taken Prisoner. *Les Tailles ne sont point deves de devoyer ordicmer* (saith *Rayneau*) *ains ont este accorded, durant la necessité des Affaires Semblement.* Afterward they were continually levied in times of warr, and at length *Charles* the first made them ordinary, neither is it extended equally, all of it would amount to a very fair revenue. For supposing this, that the *Kingdom* of *France* contained two hundred millions of acres (as it doth) and that from every one there were raised to the *King* two *Sols* yeerly; which is little in respect of the taxes imposed on them; that income alone, besides that which levied on goods personal, would amount to two millions of pounds in a year. But this payment also lyeth all on the *Paisant*. The greater Towns, the Officers of the *Kings House*, the Officers of Warrs, the *Presidents*, *Counsellors* and Officers of the *Court* of *Parliament*; the *Nobility*, the *Clergy*, and the *Schollars* of the *University* being freed from it. That which they call the *Taillon*, was intended for the ease of the Country, though now it prove one of the greatest burdens unto it. In former times, the *Kings* Souldiers lay all upon the charge of the Villages, the poor people being fain to find them diet, lodging and all necessaries for themselves, their horses and their harlots, which they brought with them. If they were not well pleased with their entertainment, they used commonly to beat their

their Hoſt, abuſe his family, and rob him of that ſmall proviſion which he had laid up for his Children, and all this *Cum privilegio.* Thus did they move from one Village to another, and at the laſt returned unto them from whence they came, *Ita ut non ſit ibi villula una expers calamitatis iſtius, quæ non ſemel aut bis in anno hac nefandâ preſſurâ depiletur*, as Sir *John Forteſcue* obſerved in his time. To redreſs this miſchief, *King Henry* the ſecond, *Anno* 1549. raiſed his Impoſition called the *Taillon*, iſſuing out of the lands and goods of the poor Country man; whereby he was at the firſt ſomewhat eaſed: but now all is again out of order, the miſerable Paiſant being oppreſſed by the Souldier as much as ever, and yet he ſtill payeth both taxes, the *Taille* and the *Taillon.*

The *Pancarte* comprehendeth in it divers particular impoſts, but eſpecially the *Sol* upon the *Liure*, that is, the twentieth penny of all things bought or ſold (corn, ſallets, and the like onely excepted.) Upon wine, beſides the *Sol* upon the *Liure*, he hath his ſeveral cuſtoms at the entrance of it into any of his Cities, paſſages by Land, Sea, or River. To theſe *Charles* the ninth, *Anno* 1561. added a tax of five *Sols* upon every *Maid*, which is the third part of a Tun, and yet when all this is done, the poor *Vintner* payeth unto the *King* the eighth penny he takes for that wine which he ſelleth.

In this *Pancart* is alſo contained the *haut paſſage*, which are the tols paid unto the *King*, for paſſage of men and cattel over his bridges and his City gates, as alſo for all ſuch Commodities which they

bring with them. A good and round ſum conſidering the largeneſs of the *Kingdom*, the *thorough-fare of Lyons* being farmed yearly of the *King* for 106000. Crowns. Hereunto belong alſo the *Aides*, which are a taxe alſo of the *Sol* on the *Liure*, upon all ſorts of fruits, proviſion, wares and Merchandize, granted firſt unto *Charles Duke* of *Normandy*, when *John* his *Father* was priſoner in *England*; and ſince made perpetual. For ſuch is the lamentable fate of that Country, that their kindneſſes are made duties; and thoſe moneys which they once grant out of love, are alwayes after exacted of them, and paid out of neceſſity. The bedrolle of all theſe impoſitions and taxes is calded the *Paneart*, becauſe it was hanged up in a frame, like as the Officers Fees are in our *Biſhops Dioceſan* Courts; the word *Pan* ſignifying a frame or pane of wainſcot. Theſe impoſitions time and cuſtom hath now made tolerable, though at firſt day they ſeemed very burdenſome, and moved many Cities to murmuring, ſome to rebellion. Amongſt others the City of *Paris*, proud of her ancient liberties and immunities, refuſed to admit of it. This indignity ſo incenſed *Charles* the ſixth their *King*, then young and in hot bloud, that he ſeized into his hands all their priviledges, took from their *Provoſt des Merchants* and the *Eſchevins*, as alſo the key of their gates, and the chains of their ſtreets, and making through the whole Town ſuch a face of mourning, that one might juſtly have ſaid:

Hæc facies Troiæ cum caperetur erat.

This

This happened in the year 1383. and was for five years together continued; which time being expired, and other Cities warned by that example, the imposition was established, and the priviledges restored. For the better regulating of the profits arising from these imposts, the *French King* erected a *Court*, *Le Cour des Aides*. It consisted at the first of the general of the *Aides*, and of any four of the *Lords* of the Councel, whom they would call to their assistance. Afterwards *Charles* the fifth, *Anno* 1380. or thereabouts, settled it in *Paris* and caused it to be numbred as one of the *Soveraign Courts*, *Lewis* the eleventh dissolved it, and committed the managing of his *Aids* to his Household servants, as loath to have any publike Officers take notice how he fleeced his people, *Anno* 1464. it was restored again. And finally *Henry* the second, *Anno* 1551. added to it a second Chamber, composed of two *Presidens* and eight *Counsellors*. One of which *Presidents*, Mr. *Cavilayer*, is said to be the best moneyed man of all *France*. There are also others of these Courts in the Country: as one at *Roven*, one at *Montferrant* in *Averyne*, one at *Bourdeaux*, and another at *Montpellier* established by *Charles* the first, *Anno* 1537. For the levying and gathering up of these taxes, you must know, that the whole Country of *France* is divided into twenty three generalities and Counties as it were, and these again into divers *Eslections*, which are much like unto our Hundreds. In every of the Generalities there are ten or twelve Treasurers, nine Receivers for the Generality, and as many Controulers, besides all under Officers, which are

thought to amount in all to thirty thousand men. When the *King* levieth his taxes, he sendeth his *Letters Patents* to the principal Officers of every Generality, whom they call *Les genereaux des Aides*, and they dispatch their warrant to the *Ezlenzor* Commissioners. These taxing every one of the Parishes and Villages within their several divisions at a certain rate, send their Receivers to collect it, who account for it to their Controulers, by them it ascendeth *Ezleie*; from him to the Receiver general of that Generality, next to the Controuler, then to the Treasurer, afterwards to the *General des Aides*; and so

Per varios cesus, per tot discrimina rerum
Tendimus in Latium ———

By all these hands it is at last conveyed into the *Kings* purse: in which several passage, *necesse est ut aliquid hæreat*, it cannot be, but it must needs have many a shrewd snatch: Insomuch that I was told by a Gentleman of good credence in *France*, that there could not be gathered by the several exactions above specified, and other devices of prowling (which I have omitted) less than eight five millions a year, whereof the *King* receiveth fifteen onely. A report not altogether to be slighted: considering that a *President* of the Court of Accompts made it evident to the Assembly at *Blois* in the time of *King Henry* the fourth, that by the time that every one of the Officers had had his share of it, there came not to the *Kings* Coffers one *teston* (which is one shilling four pence

pence) of a Crown: So that by reckoning five *teſtons* to a Crown or *Eſcue*, as it is but two pence over, theſe Officers muſt collect five times the money which they pay to the *King*; which amounteth to ſeventy five millions, and is not much ſhort of that proportion which before I ſpake of. The *Kings* revenues then, notwithſtanding this infinite oppreſſion of his people, amounteth to fifteen millions; ſome would have it eighteen, which is alſo a good improvement in reſpect of what they were in times afore. *Lewis* the eleventh as good a Husband of his Crown, as ever any was in *France*, gathering but one and an half onely, but as you count the *flow*, ſo alſo if you reckon the *ebb* of his treaſures, you will find much wanting of a full ſea in his Coffers, it being generally known, that the Fees of Officers, Penſions, Garriſons and the men of Arms draw from him yearly, no fewer than ſix of his fifteen millions. True it is, that his Treaſure hath many good helps by way of *Eſcheat*, and that moſt frequently when he cometh to take an account of his Treaſurers and other Officers. An action ſo abominable, full of baſe and unmannly villanies in their ſeveral charges, that the *Publicans* of old *Rome* were milk and white broth to them: For ſo miſerably do they abuſe the poor Paiſant, that if he hath in all the world but eight *Sols*, it ſhall go hard but he will extort from him five of them.

Non miſſura cutim niſi plena cruoris hirudo.

He is juſt of the nature of the *Horſleach*, when he

hath once gotten hold of you, he will never let you go till he be filled, and which is moſt ſtrange, he thinks it a greater clemency, that he hath left the poor man ſome of his money, than the cruelty was in wreſting from him the reſt. Nay they will brag of it, when they have taken but five of the eight *Sols*, that they have given him three, and expect thanks for it. A kindneſs of a very theeviſh nature, it being the condition of Robbers, as *Tully* hath obſerved, *Vt commemorent iis ſe dediſſe vitam, quibus non ademerint.* Were the people but ſo happy as to have a certain rate ſet upon their miſeries, it could not but be a great eaſe to them, and would well defend them from the tyranny of theſe theeves: but, which is not the leaſt part of their wretchedneſs, their taxings and aſſemblings are left arbitrary, and are exacted according as theſe *Publicans* will give out of the *Kings* neceſſities. So that the Country man hath no other remedy, than to give *Cerberus* a cruſt, as the ſaying is, and to kiſs his rod and hug his puniſhment. By this meanes the *Quæſtors* thrive abundantly, it being commonly ſaid of them, *Fâri bouvier au jourd huy Chevalier*, to day a Swineheard, to morrow a Gentleman; and certainly they grow into great riches. Mr. *Beaumarchais* one of the Treaſurers (Mr. *de Vitry*, who ſlew the *Marqueſs de Ancri*, married his onely Daughter) having raked unto himſelf, by the vilainous abuſe of his place, no leſs than twenty two millions of *Liures*, as it is commonly reported: but he is not like to carry it to his grave, the *King* having ſeiſed upon a good part of it, and himſelf being condemned to the Gallows by the

grand

grand Chamber of *Parliament*, though as yet he cannot be apprehended & advanced to the ladder, And this hath been the end of many of them since the raign of this present *King* (whom it may be for this cause they call *Lewis the Just:*) This fashion of affixing Epithites to the names of their *Kings*, was in great use heretofore with this Nation. *Carolus* the Son of *Pipin* was by them surnamed *Le magne*: *Lewis* his Son *Le Debonaire*; and so of the rest: since the time of *Charles* the sixth, who was by them surnamed the *Beloved*, it was discontinued and new revived again in the persons of *King Henry* the fourth and his Son *King Lewis*: (but this by the way.) It may be also he is called the *Just* by way of negation; because he hath yet committed no notable act of injustice (for I wink at his cruel and unjust slaughter at *Nigrepelisse*.) It may be also to keep him continually in mind of his duty, that he may make himself worthy of that attribute: *Vere Imperator sui nominis*, as one said of *Severus*.

Let us add one more misery to the *State* and *Commonalty* of *France*, and that is the base and corrupt money in it: for besides the *Sol* which is made of *Tin*, they have the *Double* made of *Brass*, whereof six make a *Sol*, and the *Denier*, whereof two make a *Double* a Coin so vile & base of value, that one hundred and twenty of them go to our English Shilling: These are the common Coins of the Country. Silver and Gold not being to be seen but upon holy-dayes. As for their Silver it is most of it of their new coining, but all exceedingly clipt and shorn, their Gold being most of it

Spanish.

Spaniſh. In my little being in the Country, though I caſually ſaw much Gold, I could onely ſee two pieces of *French* ſtamp, the reſt coming all from *Spain*, as *Piſtolets*, *Demi piſtolets*, and double *Piſtolets*. Neither is *France* onely furniſht thus with *Chaſtilian* Coin; it is happineſs alſo of other Countries, as *Italy*, *Barbary*, *Brabant*, and elſewhere, and indeed it is kindly done of him, that being the ſole *Monopoliſt* of the *Mines*, he will yet let other Nations have a ſhare in the mettal. Were the *King* as *Catholike* as his money, I think I ſhould be in ſome fear of him; till then we may lawfully take that ambitious title from the *King*, and beſtow it on his pictures: the ſoveraignty of the *Spaniſh* gold is more univerſally embraced, and more ſeriouſly acknowledged in moſt parts of Chriſtendom, than that of him which ſtampt it. To this he, which entituleth himſelf *Catholike*, is but a priſoner, and never ſaw half thoſe Provinces, in which this more powerful Monarch hath been heartily welcommed: And yet if he will needs be *King* let him grow ſomewhat more jealous of his *Queen*, and confeſs that his Gold doth royally deſerve his embraces, whom before this extent of its dominion, the ancient *Poets* ſtiled, *Regina Pecunia*.

True it is, that by the frame and ſhape of this *Empreſs* you would little think her to be lovely, and leſs worthy your entertainment, the ſtones which little boys break into quoyts, are a great deal better proportioned. If a *Geometrician* were to take the angles of it, I think it would quite put him beſides his *Euclide*: Neither can I tell to what

what thing in the world fitter to reſemble it, then a *French* Cheeſe, for it is neither long, nor ſquare, nor round, nor thin, nor thick, nor any one of theſe, but yet all, and yet none of them. No queſtion it was the *Kings* deſire, by this unſightly dreſſing of his *Lady*, to make men out of love with her, that ſo he might keep her to himſelf; but in this his hopes have cozened him: for as in other Cuckoldings, ſo in this, ſome men will be bold to keep his Wife from him, be it onely in ſpite.

Theſe circumſtances thus laid together and conſidered, we may the clearer and the better ſee our own felicities, which to expreſe generally and in a word, is to ſay onely this, that the *Engliſh* ſubject is in no circumſtance a *French-man*: here have we our money made of the beſt and pureſt metal, that onely excepted which a charitable conſideration hath coined into farthings: here have we our *King* royally, and to the envy of the world, magnificently provided for, without the ſweat and bloud of the people: no pillages nor impoſitions upon any private wares; no Gabels upon our Commodities: *Nullum in tam ingenti regno veſtigal: non in urbibus pontium vel diſcriminibus publicanorum ſtationes*; as one truly hath obſerved of us. The moneys which the *King* wanteth to ſupply his neceſſities are here freely given him, he doth not compel our bounties, but accept them. The Laws by which we are governed, we impart, are makers of: each Peaſant of the Countrey hath a free voice in the enacting of them, if not in his perſon, yet in his *Proxie*: we are not here ſubject to the luſts and tyranny of our *Lords*; and may therefore ſay ſafely,

safely, what the *Jews* spake factiously, that *We have no King but Cæsar*: the greatest *Prince* here is subject with us to the same law; and we stand before the Tribunal of the *Judge*: we acknowledge no difference: here do we inhabit our own houses, plow our own lands, enjoy the fruits of our labour, comfort our selves with the Wives of our youth; and see our selves grow up in those Children which shall inherit after us the same felicities. But I forget my self; to endeavour the numbring of *Gods* blessings, may perhaps be as great a punishment as *Davids* numbring the people. I conclude with the *Poet*.

O fortunati nimium bona si sua norint
Agricolæ nostri.

The

THE THIRD BOOK: OR, *LA BEAUSSE.*

CHAP. I.

Our Journey towards Orleans, *the Towne, Caſtle, and Battaile of* Montlhierrie. *Many things imputed to the Engliſh, which they never did.* Lewis *the* 11*th. brought not the French Kings out of Wardſhip. The Towne of* Chaſtres *and mourning Church there; The Countrey of* La Beauſſe, *an old People of it,* Eſtampes. *The dancing there. The new art of begging in the Innes of this Countrey.* Angervile, Toury. *The ſawcineſſe of French Fidlers. Three kindes of Muſick amongſt the Ancients. The French Muſick.*

HAving abundantly ſtifled our ſpirits in the Rink of *Paris*, on Tueſday being the 12. of *June*, we took our leave of it, and prepared our ſelves to entertaine the ſweet aire and winde of

Orleans. The day faire, and not so much as disposed to a cloud, save that they began to gather about noon, in the nature of a Curtaine, to defend us from the injury of the Sun; the winde rather sufficient to fan the aire, then to disturb it, by qualifying the heat of that celestiall fire, brought the day to an excellent mediocrity of temper. You would have thought it a day meerly framed for that great *Princesse Nature* to take her pleasure in, and that the Birds which cheerfully gave us their voices from the neighbouring bushes, had been the lowd musick of her Court; in a word, it was a day solely consecrated to a pleasant journey, and he that did not put it to that use mis-spent it: Having therefore put our selves into our Waggon, we took a short farewell of *Paris*, exceeding joyfull that we yet lived to see the beauty of the fields againe, and enjoy the happinesse of a free Heaven. The Countrey, such as that part of the *Isle* of *France* towards *Normandy*, onely that the Corne fields were larger and more even: On the left hand of us we had a side-glance of the *Royall* house of *Boys*, and *Vincennes*, and the Castle of *Bisestre*, and about some two miles beyond them, we had a sight also of a new house lately built by Mr. *Sillerie Chancellor* of the Kingdome, a pretty house it promised to be, having two base Courts on the hither side of it, and beyond it a Parke, an ornament, whereof many great mansions in *France* are altogether ignorant.

Foure leagues from *Paris* is the town of *Mont-Therrie*; now old and ruinous, and hath nothing in it to commend it, but the carkasse of a Castle; without

it,

it, it hath to brag of a large and ſpacious plaine, on which was fought that memorable battaile between *Lewis* the VI. and *Charles le Hardie Duke* of *Burgoyne*. A battaile memorable onely for the running away of each Army, the Field being in a manner emptyed of all the forces, and yet neither of the *Princes victorious*. *Hic ſpe celer, ille ſalutis*. Some ran out of fear to dye, and ſome out of hope to live, that it was hard to ſay which of the Soldiers made moſt uſe of their heels in the combat. This notwithſtanding, the *King* eſteemed himſelfe the *Conqueror*, not that he overcame, but becauſe not vanquiſhed. He was a Prince of no heart to make a warriour, and therefore Reſiſtance was to him almoſt as much hugged as Victory. It was *Anthonies* caſe in his Warre againſt the *Parthians*, a Captain whoſe *Launce King Lewis* was not worthy to beare after him: *Craſſus* before him had been taken by that people, but *Anthonius* made a retreat though with loſſe. *Hanc itaque fugam ſuam, quia victus non exierat, victoriam vocabat*, as *Paterculus* one that loved him not ſaith of him: yet was *King Lewis* ſo puffed up with this conceit of victory, that he ever after ſlighted his enemies, and at laſt ruin'd them, and their cauſe with them. The Warre which they undertook againſt him, they entituled, *the Warre of the Weale publick*, becauſe the occaſion of their taking Armes was for the liberty of the Countrey and the People, both whom the *King* had beyond meaſure oppreſſed. True it is, they had alſo their particular purpoſes, but this was the main, and failing in the expected event of it, all that they did was to confirme the bondage

of the Realm by their owne overthrow. These *Princes* once disbanded, and severally broken, none durst ever afterwards enter into the action: for which reason King *Lewis* used to say that he had brought the *Kings* of *France* *Hors Pupillage* out of their Wardship: a speech of more Brag than Truth. The people I confesse he brought into such terms of slavery, that they not long merited the name of Subjects: but yet for this great boast, the *Nobles* of *France* are the *Kings Guardians*. I have already shewn you much of their potencie, by that you may see, that the *French Kings* have not yet sued their *Outre le maine*, as our Lawyers call it. Had he also in some measure broken the powerableness of the *Princes*, he had then been perfectly his word's Master; and till that be done, I shall think his Successors to be in their *Pupillage*. That *King* is but half himselfe, which hath the absolute command onely of half his people.

The Battaile by this towne, the common people impute to the *English*; and so do many others, which they had no hand in: for hearing their *Grandames* talk of their Warres with our Nation, and of the many Fields which we gained of them, they no sooner heare talk of a pitch'd Field, but presently (as the nature of men in a fright is) they attribute it to the *English*. Good simple soules, *Quibus non solum laudibus nostris ornare velint, sed alienis exornare*: as *Tullie* in his *Philippicks*. An humour just like unto that of little children, who being once afrighted with the Tales of *Robin Goodfellow*, do never after heare any noyse in the night, but they streight imagine, that it is he which maketh

it,

it, or like the women of the villages neere *Oxford*; who having heard the tragicall ſtory of a Duck or a Hen killed and carried to the *Univerſity*, no ſooner miſſe one of their chickins, but inſtantly they cry out upon the *Scholars*. On the ſame falſe ground alſo, hearing that the *Engliſh* whilſt they had poſſeſſions in this Countrey were great builders, they beſtow on them without any more adoe, the foundation and perfecting of moſt of the Churches and Caſtles in the Countrey. Thus are our Anceſtors ſaid to have built the Churches of *Roven*, *Amiens*, *Bayon*, &c. as alſo the Caſtles of *Boys*, S. *Vincennes*, the *Baſtile*, the two little Forts on the River ſide by the *Louvre* at S. *Germaines*, and amongſt many others this of *Mont l'herrie*, where we now are, and all alike. As for this Caſtle, it was built during the reigne of King *Robert*, *Anno* 1015. by one of his ſervants named *Thebald*, long before the *Engliſh* had any poſſeſſions in this Continent. It was raſed by *Lewis* the *Groſſe*, as being a harbourer of Rebells in former times, and by that meanes as a ſtrong bridle in the mouth of *Paris*; nothing now ſtanding of it ſave an high Tower, which is ſeen a great diſtance round about, and ſerveth for a Land-mark.

Two leagues from *Mont l'herrie* is the town of *Chaſtres*, ſeated in the fartheſt angle of *France*, where it confineth to *la Beauſs*, a town of an ordinary ſize, ſomewhat bigger than for a market, and leſſe than would beſeem a city. A wall it hath and a ditch, but neither ſerviceable further than to reſiſt the enemy at one gate, while the people run away by the other. Nothing elſe remarkable in it,

but the habit of the *Church* which was *mourning* for such is the fashion of *France*, that when any of the *Nobleſſe* are buried, the Church which entombeth them is painted black within and without for the breadth of a yard, or thereabouts, and their coats of Armes drawn on it. To goe to the charges of hanging it round with cloath is not for their profits. Beſides, this counterfeit ſorrow feareth thieves, & dareth out-brave a tempeſt. He for whom the Church of *Chaſtres* was thus apparelled, had been *Lord* of the Towne, by name as I remember Mr. *St. Bennoiſt*, his Armes were argent, three Creſcents on a Mullet of the ſame, but whether the Mullet were part of the Coat, or a mark onely of difference I could not learn. The like Funerall churches I ſaw alſo at *Toſtes* in *Normandie*, and in a Village of *Picardie*, whoſe name I minde not; *ſed operæ pretium*. And now we are paſſed the confines of *France*, a poore River, which for the narrowneſſe of it, you would think a ditch parting it from the Province of *La Beauſſe*.

La Beauſſe hath on the *North*, *Normandie*, on the *Eaſt*, the *Iſle of France*, on the *South*, the River of *Loyer*, and on the *Weſt*, the Countreys of *Touraine* and *le Maine*; it lieth in 22 & 23 degree of Longitude, and the 48 and 49 of Latitude, taking wholly up the breadth of the two former, and but part onely of each of the latter. If you meaſure it to the beſt advantage of length, you will finde it to extend from *la Forte Bernard* in the *North weſt* corner of it, to *Gyan* in the *South eaſt*, which according to the proportion of degrees, amounteth to 60 miles Engliſh, and ſomewhat better; for breadth

it is much after the same reckoning. The ancient inhabitants of this Province, and the reason of the name I could not learn amongst the people; neither can I find any certainty of it in my books, with whom I have conferred. If I may be bold to goe by conjecture, I should think this country to have been the seat of *Bellocassi*, a people of *Gaule Celtick*, mentioned by *Cæsar* in his Commentaries. Certaine it is that in this Tract they were seated, and in likelihood in this *Province*; the names ancient and moderne being not much different in sense, though in sound. For the *Franks* called that which in *Latine* is *pulcher* or *bellus*, by the name of *Bel* in the Masculine Gender; *Beu* the Pronoune it, and *Beau* as it were the Fæminine. At this time *Beau* is Masculine, and *Belle* Fæminine: so that the name of *Bellocassi* is but varied into that of *Beausse*: Besides that *Province* which the *Roman* writers stile *Bellovaci*, the *French* now call *Beauvais*, where *Belle* is also turned into *Beau*. Adde to this, that the *Latine* writers doe terme this contrey, *Bello Bessia*, where the ancient *Bello* is still preserved; and my conjecture may be pardoned, if not approved. As for those which have removed this people into *Normandie*, and found them in the city of *Baiux*, I appeale to any understanding man, whether their peremptory sentence, or my submisse opinion be the more allowable.

Hæc si tibi vera videtur,
Dide manus: aut si falsa est, accingere contra.

The same night we came to *Estampes*, a towne

ſcituate in a very plentifull and fruitfull Soile, and watered with a River of the ſame name, ſtored with the beſt Crevices; it ſeemeth to have been a town of principall importance, there being five walls and gates in a length, one before another. So that it appeareth to be rather a continuation of many townes together than ſimply one: The Streets are of a large breadth, the Buildings for ſubſtance are ſtone, and for faſhion as the reſt of *France*. It containeth in it five Churches, whereof the principall is a *Colledge* of *Chanons*, as that of *Noſtredame*, built by King *Robert*, who is ſaid alſo to have founded the *Caſtle*, which now can ſcarcely be viſited in its ruines; without the towne they have a fine green Meadow daintily ſeated within the circlings of the Water, into which they uſe to follow their recreations. At my being there, the ſport was dancing, an exerciſe much uſed by the *French*, who doe naturally affect it. And it ſeems this natural inclination is ſo ſtrong and deep rooted, that neither age, nor the abſence of a ſmiling fortune can prevaile againſt it. For on this Dancing-green there aſſembleth not onely Youth and Gentry, but alſo Age and Beggery, old wives which could not ſet foot to ground without a Crutch in the ſtreets, had here taught their feet to amble, you would have thought by the cleanly conveyance and carriage of their bodies, that they had beene troubled with the *Sciatica*, and yet ſo eager in the ſport, as if their dancing-dayes ſhould never be done. Some there were ſo ragged, that a ſwift Galliard would almoſt have ſhaked them into nakedneſſe, and they alſo moſt violent to have their careaſſes

carcasses directed in a measure. To have attempted the staying of them at home, or the perswading of them to work when they heard the Fiddle, had been a task too unweildy for *Hercules*. In this mixture of age and condition did we observe them at their pastime; the raggs being so interwoven with the silks, and wrinkled browes so interchangably mingled with fresh beauties, that you would have thought it to have been a mummery of fortunes; as for those of both sexes which were altogether past action, they had caused themselves to be carried thither in their chaires, and trod the measures with their eyes.

The *Inns* which we lay in was just like those of *Normandie*, or at the least so like, as was fit for Sisters, for such Guests take them.

——*Facies non omnibus una*
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.

All the difference in them lay in the morning, and amongst the maid-servants, for there we were not troubled with such an importunate begging, as in that other country. These here had learned a more neat and compendious art of getting money, and petitioned not our eares, but our noses, by the *Rhetorick of a Poëtie*; they prevailed upon the purse, by giving each of us a bundle of dead flowers tacked together, seemed rather to buy our bounties than to beg them. A sweeter and more generous kinde of craving, than the other of *Normandie*, and such as may seem to imply in it some happy contradiction; for what else is it, that a maid should proffer her

her self to be deflowred without prejudice to her modesty, and raise to her future husband an honest stock by the usury of a kindenesse. Refreshed with these favours, we took our leave of *Estampes* and the dancing Miscelanie, jogging on through many a beautifull field of corne, till we came unto *Angerville*, which is six leagues distant: a Town of which I could not observe or heare any thing memorable, but that it was taken by *Montacute*, Earle of *Salisbury*, as hee went this way to the siege of *Orleans*, and indeed the taking of it was no great miracle, the walls being so thin that an arrow could almost as soon make a breach in them as a canon. The same fortune befell also unto *Toury*, a place not much beyond it in strength or bignesse, onely that it had more confidence (as *Savage* an *English Gentleman* once said) in the walls of bones, which were within it, than in the walls of stones which were without it.

This Town standeth in the middle way betwixt *Estampes* and *Orleans*, and therefore a fit stage to act a dinner on, and to it we went: by that time we had cleared our selves of our pottage, there entred upon us three uncouth fellowes with hats on their heads, like cover'd dishes; as soon as ever I saw them, I cast one eye upon my cloak, and the other on my sword, as not knowing what use I might have of my steele to maintain my *cloath*. There was great talk at that time of Mr. *Senbise's* being in armes, and I much feared that these might be some straglers of his army; and this I suspected by their countenances, which were very thievish and full of insolence. But when I had made a survey

of

of their apparell, I quickly altered that opinion, and accounted them as the excrement of the next prison, deceived alike in both my jealousies, for these pretty parcels of mans flesh were neither better nor worse, but even arrant fidlers, and such which in *England* we should not hold worthy of the whipping-post. Our leave not asked, and no reverence on their parts performed, they abused our eares with a harsh lesson; and as if that had not been punishment enough unto us, they must needs adde unto it one of their songs; by that little *French* which I had gathered, and the simpering of a *Fille de joy* of *Paris* who came along with us, I perceived it was bawdy, and to say truth, more than patiently could be endured by any but a *French-man*, but *quid facerem*, what should I doe but endure the misery, for I had not laguage enough to call them rogues handsomely, and the villaines were inferiour to a beating, and indeed not worthy of mine or any honest mans anger.

Preda canum lepus est, vastos non implet hiatus
Nec gaudet tenui sanguine tanta sitis.

They were a knot of Rascalls so infinitely below the severity of a Statute, that they would have discredited the *State*, and to have hanged them had been to hazard the reputation of the Gallows. In a yeare you would hardly finde out some vengeance for them, which they would not injure in the suffering, unlesse it be not to hearken to their ribaldry, which is one of their greatest torments. To proceed, after their song ended, one of the company (the Master of them it should seem) draweth a dish out of his pocket, and layeth it before us, into which we were

to cast our benevolence. Custome hath allowed them a *Sol*, for each man at the table, they expect no more, and will take no lesse; so large summe, and yet I assure you, richly worth the musick, which was meerly *French*, that is, lascivious in the composure: and *French* also, that is, unskilfully handled in the playing.

Amongst the Ancients I have met with three kindes of *Musick*, *viz.* First, that which the *Greeks* call Ἀχμονικὴ, which consisted altogether of long notes or *Spondees*, which was the graveſt and saddest of all the rest, called by *Aristotle*, in the last Chapter of his *Politicks*, ἠθικὴ, or morall, because it sezed the affections: *Boetius* whom we account the classicall Author in this faculty, called it *Lydian*, because in much use with those of that Nation at this day: We may call it *Italian*, as being generally a peculiar musick to that people. This is the *Musick* which *Elisha* called for, to invite unto him the spirit of Prophesie, 1 *Kings* 3. 15. and this is it which is yet sung in our Churches. A practice which we derive from the Ancients (however some of late have opposed it) and which is much commended by Saint *Augustine*, this being the use of it, *Ut per oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in pietatis affectum assurgat.* The second kinde the *Artists* call διάτονον, which consisteth of a mixture of long and short notes, or of the *Dactylus*. The Philosopher termeth it Φλεγμὸν, being it had been in much esteem amongst the *Dores*, a *Greek Nation*: we may now call it *English*, as being that *Musick* with which our Nation is particularly affected. This is that Musick, which

which cheereth the ſpirits, and is ſo ſoveraign an *Antidote* to a minde afflicted, and which, as the *Poet* hath it, doth *Saxa movere ſono*. The third ſort is, that which the *Greeks* call χρόμα, conſiſting altogether of ſhort notes, or *Tribraches*. *Ariſtotle* calleth it, ἐκβακχευτικὸν, raviſhing, becauſe it unhinged the affections, and ſtirred them to laſciviouſneſſe. *Boetius* termeth this *Phrygian*, as being the ſtrain of that wanton and luxuriant people. In theſe times we may call it *French*, as moſt delighted in by the ſtirring ſpirits, and lightneſs of this Nation, a note of Muſick forbidden unto youth by *Ariſtotle* and *Plato*, and not countenanced by any of them, but on the common theatres, to ſatisfie the rude manners and deſires of the *vulgar*, καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν, and to give them alſo content in their recreations, yet is this Muſick altogether in uſe in this Countrey; no leſſon amongſt their profeſt Muſicians that I could hear which had any gravity, or ſolid Art ſhewed in the Compoſition. They are pretty fellowes, I confeſſe, for the ſetting out of a *Mask* or a *Corante*, but beyond this nothing, which maketh the Muſick in their Churches ſo baſe and unpleaſing, ſo that the glory of perfect Muſick at this time, lyeth between the *Engliſh* and *Italian*; that of *France* being as triviall as their behaviour, of which indeed it is a concomitant. *Mutata Muſica mutantur mores*, ſaith *Tullie*, and therefore he giveth us this leſſon, *Cavendum itaque eſt, ut muſica quam graviſſima & honeſtiſſima retineatur.* A good *item* for the *French*:

CHAP.

Chap. II.

The Countrey and Site of Orleans, *like that of* Worceſter. *The Wine of* Orleans. *Præſidiall Townes in* France, *what they are. The ſale of Offices in* France. *The fine walk and paſtime of the* Palle Malle. *The Church of St.* Croix *founded by Superſtition of a Miracle, defaced by the* Hugonets. *Some things hated onely for their name. The Biſhop of* Orleans *and his priviledge. The Chappel and Pilgrim of St.* Jacques. *The form of Maſſe in St.* Croix. *Cenſing a heatheniſh Cuſtome. The great Siege of* Orleans, *raiſed by* Joane *the Virgin. The valor of that Woman, that ſhe was no Witch. An Eulogie on her.*

WE are now come into the countrey of *Orleans*, which though within the limits of *La Beauſſe*, will yet be accounted an intire County of it ſelfe, it is a dainty and pleaſant Region, very even and large in the fields of it, inſomuch that we could not ſee a hill or ſwelling of the ground within *eye-reach*. It conſiſted of an indifferent meaſure of *Corne*, but moſt plentifull of *Vines*, and hath of all other Fruits a very liberall portion. Neither is it meanly beholding to the *Loyre* for the benefits it receiveth by that River, on which the

City

City of *Orleans* it ſelfe is ſweetly ſeated. Of all places in *England*, *Worceſter-ſhire* in my opinion cometh moſt nigh it, as well in reſpect of the Countrey, as the ſituation of the Towne: for certainly that Countrey may be called the *Epitome of England*, as that of *France*. To the richeſt of the Corn-fields of *Orleans* we may compare the Vale of *Eveſham*. Neither will it yeild for choyce and variety of Fruits, the Vine onely excepted. The Hedges in that Countrey are prodigall and laviſh of thoſe trees, which would become the faireſt Orchards of the Weſt, and in a manner recompenceth the want of Wine by its plenty of *Perry* and *Syder*. In a word, what a good Writer hath ſaid of one, we may ſay of both, *Cœlum & ſolum ita propitium habent, ut ſalubritate & ubertate vicinis non concedunt*. But the reſemblance betweene the townes is more happy; both ſeated on the ſecond *River* of note in their ſeverall *Countreys*; and which are not much unlike in their ſeverall courſes. *Severn* waſhing the walls of *Glouceſter*, and paſſing nigh unto *Briſtoll*, ſeated on a little Rivulet, and its Homager divideth the ancient *Britaines* from the reſt of the *Engliſh*. The *Loyre* gliding to the city *Tours*, and paſſing nigh unto *Angiers*, ſeated alſo within the land on a little River, and one of its Tributaries, ſeparateth the modern *Britaines* from the reſt of the *French*. *Poſita eſt in loco modice acclivi, ad flumen, quod turrigero ponti conjungitur, & muro ſatis firmo munita*, ſaith Mr. *Cambden* of *Worceſter*. *Orleans* is ſeated on the like declivitie of an hill, hath its bridge well fortified with Turrets, and its walls of an equall ability

of

of resistance; *Sed decus est ab incolis qui sint numerosi & humani, ab ædificiorum nitore, & templorum numero & maxime à Sede Episcopali*, saith he of ours in genrall; we may see it fitly applied to this in each particular. The people of this town are not of the fewest, no town in *France* (the proportion of it considered) being more populous: for standing in so delicate an Aire, and on so commodious a River, it inviteth the *Gentry* or *Noblesse* of the countrey about it to inhabite there, and they accept it. Concerning their behaviour and humanity, certainly they much exceed the *Parisians*, I was about to say all the *French-men*, and indeed I not grudge them this *Eulogie*, which *Cæsar* giveth unto those of *Kent*, and verifie that they are *omnium incolarum longè humanissimi*, my selfe here observing more courtesie and affability in one day, than I could meet withall in *Paris*, during all my abode there. The buildings of it are very suitable to themselves, and the rest of *France*; the streets large and well kept, not yeilding the least offence to the most curious nostrill: *Paris*' *Churches* it hath in it 26. of different and unequall beeing as it useth to be in other places; besides these, it containeth the *Episcopall Church* of S. *Croix*, and divers other houses of religious persons, among which is St. *Jacques*; of both which I shall speak in their due order. Thus much for the resemblance of the Townes, the difference betwixt them is this, that *Orleans* is the bigger, and *Worcester* the richer. *Orleans* consisteth much of the *Noblesse*, and of Sojourners; *Worcester* of *Citizens* and Home-dwellers; and for the manner of life in them, so it is

that *Worceſter* hath the handſomer women in it, *Orleans* the finer, and in my opinion the loveliest in all *France*. *Worceſter* thriveth the moſt on *Cloathing*, *Orleans* on their *Vine-preſſes*.

And queſtionleſſe the Wine of *Orleans* is the greateſt riches, not of the Towne onely, but of the *Countrey* alſo about it. For this cauſe *Andre du Cheſne* calleth it, *the prime Cellar of Paris*. *Eſt une pars* (ſaith he) *ſi heureuſe & ſi ſecunde ſur tout in vins quon la pent dire l'unde primiers celiers de Paris*. Thoſe Vines wherein he maketh it to be ſo happy, deſerve no leſſe a commendation than he hath given them, as yeilding the beſt Wines in all the Kingdome, ſuch as it much moved me to mingle with Water, they being ſo delicious to the Palate, and the *Epicuriſme* of the taſte. I have heard of a *Dutch* Gentleman, who being in *Italy* was brought acquainted with a kinde of Wine which they there call *Lachryma Chriſti*; no ſooner had he taſted it, but he fell into a deep melancholy; and after ſome ſeaven ſighes, beſides the addition of two groanes, he brake out into this patheticall Ejaculation: *Dii boni, quare non Chriſtus lachrymatus eſſet in noſtris regionibus?* This *Dutchman* and I were for a time both of one minde, inſomuch that I could almoſt have picked a quarrell with *Nature*, for giving us none of this *Liquor in England*. At laſt we grew friends again, when I had perceived how offenſive it was to the brain (if not well qualified) for which cauſe it is ſaid, that K. *Lewis* hath baniſhed it his Cellar, no doubt to the great grief of his drinking Courtiers, who may therefore ſay with *Martial*,

Quid tantum fecere boni tibi peſſima vina?
Aut quid fecerunt optima vina mali?

This towne called *Genabum* by *Cæſar*, was re-edified by *Aurelian* the *Emperour*, *Anno* 276. and called by his name *Aurelianum*, which it ſtill retaineth amongſt the *Latines*. It hath been famous heretofore for four *Councels* here celebrated; and for being the ſeat royall of the *Kings of Orleans*: though as now I could not heare any thing of the ruines of the *Palace*. The fame of it at this time conſiſteth in the *Univerſity* and its ſeat of *Juſtice*: This town being one of them which they call *Sieges Preſidiaux*. Now theſe *Seiges Preſidiaux*, *Seats* or *Courts* of *Juſtice*, were eſtabliſhed in divers cities of the Realme for the eaſe of the people, *Anno* 1551. or thereabouts. In them all civill cauſes not exceeding 250 *Liu'res* in Money, or 10. *Liu'res* in Rents, are heard and determined ſoveraignly and without appeale. If the ſumme exceed thoſe proportions the appeale holdeth good, and ſhall be examined in that Court of Parliament, under whoſe juriſdiction it is. Their Court here conſiſteth of a *Baille*, whoſe name is Mr. *Digion*, of twelve *Counſellors*, two *Lieutenants*, one *civill*, the other *criminall*, and a publique *Notarie*. When Mr. *Le Compte de St. Paul*, who is the Governour or Lieutenant Generall of the Province cometh into their Court, he giveth precedency to the *Baille*, in other places he receiveth it. This inſtitution of theſe *Preſidiall Courts*, was at firſt a very profitable ordinance, and much eaſed the people, but now it is grown

grown burdenſome. The reaſon is, that the offices are meere ſaleable, and purchaſed by them with a great deale of money, which afterwards they wreſt againe out of the purſes of the Paiſants. The ſale of Offices drawing neceſſarily after it, the ſale of *Juſtice*, a miſchief which is ſpread ſo far, that there is not the worſt *under-Officer* in all the Realm who may not ſay with the *Captaine* in the 22. of the *Acts* and the 28. verſe, Ἐγὼ πολλοῦ κεφαλαίου τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην ἐκτησάμην. *With a great ſumme of money obtained I this freedome.* Twenty yeares purchaſe is ſaid to be no extraordinary rate; and I have read, that onely by the ſale of Offices one of the *Kings* had raiſed in twenty yeares 139 *millions*, which amounteth to the proportion of 7 *millions* yearly, or thereabouts, of all wayes to thrift and treaſure the moſt unkindly. In the yeare 1614. the *King* motioned the aboliſhing of the ſales of this Market, but it was upon a condition more prejudiciall to the people than the miſchiefe. For he deſired in lieu of it to have a greater impoſition laid upon *Salt*, and upon the *Aides*, which thoſe that were *Commiſſioners* for the *Commonalty* would not admit of, becauſe then a common miſery had been brought out of the State, to make their particular miſeries the greater, and ſo the corruption remaineth unaltered.

This Towne as it is ſweetly ſeated, in reſpect of the aire, ſo is it finely convenienced with the walks, of which the chief are, that next unto *Paris gate*, having the wall on the one hand, and a rank of *Palme* trees on the other; the ſecond, that neere unto the bridge, having the *Water* pleaſingly run-

ning on both ſides: and a third which is indeed the principall, on the *Eaſt-ſide* of the *City*, it is called the *Palle Malle*, of an exerciſe of that name much uſed in this Kingdome, a very Gentleman-like ſport, not over violent, and ſuch as affordeth good opportunity of diſcourſe, as they walk from one mark to the other. Into this walk, which is of a wonderful length and beauty, you ſhall have a cleer evening empty all the towne, the aged people borrowing legs to carry them, and the younger armes to guide them. If any young Dame or *Monſieur* walk thither ſingle, they will quickly finde ſome or other to link with them, though perhaps ſuch with whom they have no familiarity. Thus do they meaſure and re-meaſure the length of the *Palle Malle*, not minding the ſhutting in of the day, till darkneſs hath taken away the ſenſe of bluſhing; at all houres of the night, be it warm and dry, you ſhall be ſure to finde them thus coupled; and if at the yeares end there be found more children in the towne than fathers, this walk and the night are ſhrewdly ſuſpected to be acceſſories; a greater inconvenience in mine opinion, than an *Engliſh Kiſs*.

There is yet a fourth walk in this towne, called *L'eſtappe*, a walk principally frequented by *Merchants*, who here meet to confer of their occaſions. It lieth before the houſe of Mr. *Le Comte de St. Paul*, the Governour, and reacheth up to the *Cloiſter* of *St. Croix*: of the buildings of which *Church* I could never yet hear or read of any thing, but that which is meerly fabulous: for the *Citizens* report, that long ſince, time out of minde, there appeared a *Viſion* to a *holy Monk* which lived thereabouts,

bouts, and bad him dig deep in such a place, where he should finde a piece of the *Holy Crosse*, charging him to preserve that blessed relique in great honour, and to cause a *Church* to be built in that place where it had been buried. Upon this warning the Church was founded, but at whose charges they cou'd not inform me: so that all which I cou'd learn concerning the foundation of this Church, is, that it was erected by Superstition & a Lie. The Superstition is apparent in the worshipping of such rotten sticks, as they imagine to be the remnants of the *Crosse*: their calling of it holy, and dedicating of this *Church* unto it. Nay they have consecrated unto it two *Holy dayes*, one in *May*, and the other in *September*, and are bound to salute it as often as they see it in the streets, or high wayes, with these words, *Ave salus totius Seculi, arbor salutifera.* Horrible blasphemy, and never heard of but under *Antichrist*. *Cruces subeundas esse non adorandas*, being the lesson of the *Ancients*. As for the Miracle I account it as others of the same stamp, equally false and ridiculous. This Church in the yeare 1562. was defaced and ruined by the *Hugonots*, who had entred the town under the conduct of the Prince of *Conde*. An action little savouring of Humanity, and lesse of Religion; the very Heathens themselves never demolishing any of the Churches of those towns which they had taken; but in this action the *Hugonots* consulted only with rashnesse and zealous fury, thinking no title so glorious as to be called the *Scourge of Papists*, and the overthrowers of *Popish Churches*.

Quid facerent hostes captâ crudelius urbe?

The most barbarous enemies in the world could not more have exercised their malice on the vanquished. And this I perswade my selfe had been the fate of most of our Churches, if that Faction had got the upper hand of us; but this Church notwithstanding is likely now to survive their madnesse, being *Henry* the fourth began the repairing of it, and his Son *Lewis* hath since continued it, so that the Quire is not quite finished, and the workmen are in hand with the rest. What should move the *Hugonots* to this execution I cannot say, except it were a hate which they beare unto the name, and perhaps not that unlikely. We read how the *Romans* having expelled the *Kings*, banished also *Collatinus* their *Consul*, a man in whom they could finde no fault, but this, that his sirname was *Tarquinius*. *Tantum ob nomen & genus regium*, saith *Florus*: Afterwards *quam invisum fuerit Regis nomen*, is very frequent in the stories of those times. Among those which had been of the *Conspiracy* against *Julius Cæsar*, there was one named *Cinna*, a name so odious among the people, that meeting by chance with one of *Cæsar's* friends, and hearing that his name was *Cinna*, they presently murthered him in the place. For which cause one *Cassius*, which was also the name of one of the Conspirators, published a writing of his name and pedigree, shewing therein that he neither was the Traytor, nor any kin to him. The reason of his action *Dion* giveth us, ὅτι Κίννα ὡς ποιητοῦ ἁπλῶς

Ne si nominis causâ occideretur. With a like heat it may be were the *French Protestants* possessed against the name of the *Crosse*. For they not onely ruined that Temple, but beat downe also all those little *Crosses* betwixt *Mount Martre* and *St. Denis*, though now *King Lewis* hath caused them to be re-edified. And what troubles the *French* party here in *England* have raised because of that harmlesse ceremony of the *Crosse*, *Notius est quam ut stylo egeat*, and therefore I omit it.

This *Church* is the Seat of a *Bishop*, who acknowledgeth the *Archbishoprick* of *Seines* for his *Metropolitan*. The present *Bishop* is named *Franciscus de Anbespins*, said to be a worthy Scholar, and a sound *Politician*; though he were never graduated farther than the *Arts*: of his revenue I could learn nothing, but of his privileges this, namely, that at the entrance of every new *Bishop* into this *Church*, he hath the liberty of setting free of any of the Prisoners of the Gaole, though their crime be never so mortall. For the originall of this indulgence we are beholding to St. *Aignan*, once *Bishop* here, and who defended the city against *Attella* the *Huanne*: At his first entrance into the towne (saith the Story) after he was invested *Bishop*, he besought *Agrippinus* the *Governor* that for his sake he would let loose all his Prisoners; *Ut omnes quos pro variis criminibus pœnalis carcer detinebat inclusos, sibi in introitus gratiam redderet resolutos*: When the *Governour* had heard this request, he denied it, and presently a stone falleth on his head, no man knew from whence. Wounded and terrified with this, the *Governour* granteth his

deſire, recovereth his health, and ever ſince the cuſtome hath continued. For the truth of this ſtory I intend to be no *Champion*, for I hold it ridiculous, and ſavouring too much of the *Legend*; but this I am certain of, that every new *Biſhop* maketh a ſolemn and majeſtick entry into the City, and at his entry releaſeth a Priſoner.

Let us follow the *Biſhop* into his Church, and we ſhall finde him entertained with an high *Maſſe*, the ceremonies whereof are very pretty and abſurd; To goe over them all would require a volume, I will therefore mention thoſe onely, wherein they differ from other *Maſſes*, and they are two, the one Fantaſticall, the other Heatheniſh; for as ſoon as the *Prieſt* at the *Altar* hath read a certain leſſon, but what, his voyce was not audible enough to tell me, out marcheth the *Dean*, or in his abſence the ſenior *Chanoin* out of the *Church*; before him two or three Torches, and a long *Croſſe* ſilvered over; after him all thoſe of the *Church*, and laſtly, the *Lay-people* both men and women, ſo that there is none left to keep poſſeſſion, but the *Prieſt* at the *Altar*, and ſuch ſtrangers as come thither for curioſity; they went out at one door, and juſt circuited the Quire, and the body of the Church, afterwards they return to their places, and the *Prieſt* proceedeth; I have ſeen many a dumb ſhew in a Play juſt like it. This onely is the difference, that here we had no interpreter nor *Chorus* afforded us to ſhew us the myſterie of this ſilent je ticulation. The other addition which I obſerved here at the *Maſſe* (though I have ſince been told, that it is ordinrary at *High Maſſes* in *Cathe-*

drall

drall Churches) was the *censing* of the people, which was performed in this manner: Whiles the *Priest* was busie at the *Altar*, there entred into the *Quire* at a side door, two Boyes in their Surplices bearing waxe Tapers in their hands, and immediately after them the foresaid fellow with the *Crosse*. In the rere there came two of the *Priests* in their *Copes*, and other stately vestments, between both a young lad with the Incense pot, made full of holes to let out the fume, which he swinged on all sides of him, with a chain to which it was fastned: Having thus marched through the *Church*, and censed the people, he ascended unto the *Altar*, & there censed the *Cross*, the *Reliques*, the *Bread* and *Wine*, the *Chalice*, the *Images*. and I know not what nor. A custome very much used amongst the *Heathen*: *Omnibus vicis factæ sunt statuæ, & ad eas thus & cerei*, saith *Tully*: and

Jane tibi primùm thura merumque fero, saith *Ovid* in his book *de Fastis*; so have we in *Martiall*,

Te primùm pia thura rogent, and the like in divers other writers of the *Antients*. At what time it crept into the Churches of the Christians, I cannot tell. Sure I am, it was not used in the Primitive times, nor in the third Century after our Saviour, save only in their Burialls, *Sciant fabæ* (saith *Tertullian*, (who at that time lived) *plures & charióres merces suas Christianis, sepeliendis profligari, quã Diis fumigantibus. Arnobius* also in his fifth book, *adversus gentes*, disclaimeth the use of it, and yet their *Councel of Trent* in the 22 *Session* defineth it to be as boldly an Apostolicall institution and tradition, as if the *Apostles* themselves had told them so; I know they had rather seem to derive it from the

10. chapter

10. chapter of *Exodus*, and the 1. verſe, and ſo *Biſhop Durend* is of opinion in his *Rationale Divinorum*, but this will not help them. *Aaron* there is commanded to burne Incenſe onely on the *Altar*, and not to cenſe Men and Images, *Croſſes* and reliques, as the *Papiſts* doe; ſo that will they, nill they, they muſt be counted followers of the Heathen, though I envy them not the honour of being *Jewes*. From the Hiſtory and Revenue of the Church proceed we to that of the Town, where nothing occurreth more memorable, than the great ſiege laid before it by the *Engliſh*. A ſiege of great importance to both parties, *France* having been totally won unto *King Henry*, if this Town had yeelded, and once ſo nigh it was to ſubmit it ſelfe, that the people proffered to yeeld themſelves to *Philip Duke of Burgundie*, then a great confederate of our Nation, who had not been preſent in the Camp, but this the *Engliſh Generall* would not conſent unto; and it was the reſolution of *Antigonus* a long time before us, *Negavit Antigonus* (ſaith *Juſtine*) *ſe in ejus belli prædam ſocios admittere, in cujus periculum ſolus deſcenderat.* On this determinate ſentence of the *Generall*, (he was *Montacute Earl of Saliſbury*) the Town purpoſed to hold out a little longer, and was at laſt relieved by *Joane de Arca* maid of vancoleure in *Loraine* whom they called *la Puelle*; how by that excellent Soldier the *Generall* war ſlaine, and the ſiege raiſed, I need not relate, it is extant in all our Chronicles. This onely now, that ever ſince that time, the people of *Orleans* keep a ſolemn proceſſion on every eighth day of *May*, on which day, *An.* 1427. their

their City was delivered from its enemies.

But the atchievements of this brave *Virago*, staied not here, she thinkes it not enough to depulse her enemies, unlesse she also vanquish them; armed therefore *cap a pea*; she went to seek an occasion of battaile, and was alwayes formost, and in the head of her Troops.

Duxit Amazonidum lunatis agmina bellis,
Penthesilea furens, mediisque in millibus ardet.

For her first service she taketh *Jargeau*, discomfiteth the *English* which were in it, and maketh the *Earl of Suffolk* Prisoner: soon after followed the battaile of *Patay*, in which the *English* were driven out of the field, and the great *Talbot* taken. This done, she accompanieth *Charles* the 7. whose *Angell-Guardian* she was thought, all *Champayne* unto *Rhemes*, where she solemnly saw him Crowned, all the Townes of those Countreyes yeelding upon the approach of her, and the *Kings* Army. Finally, after many acts performed above the nature of her sexe, which I will not stand here to particulate: she was taken prisoner at the siege of *Campaigne*, delivered over unto the *Earle of Bedford*, by him sent unto *Roven*, and there burnt for a *Witch* on the sixth of *July*, *Anno* 1432. There was also another crime objected against her, as namely that she had abused the nature of her sexe, marching up and downe in the habit of a man; *& nihil muliebre præter corpus gerens*, of all accusations the most impotent, for in what other habit could she dresse her selfe, undertaking the actions of

of a General: and beſides, to have worne her womans weeds in time of battaile, had been to have betrayed her ſafety, and to have made her ſelfe the marke of every Arrow. It was therefore requiſite, that ſhe ſhould array her ſelfe in compleat harneſs, and in that habit of compleat armour have thoſe of *Orleans*, erected thoſe *ſtatua's* all in braſſe, upon the middle of their bridge.

As for that other imputation of being a *Witch*, ſaving the credit of thoſe that condemned her, and theirs alſo, who in their writings have ſo reported her, I dare be of the contrary opinion, for dividing her actions into two parts, thoſe that precede her coming unto *Orleans*, and thoſe that followed it, I find much in it of valour, ſomewhat perhaps of cunning, but nothing that is diveliſh; her relieving of *Orleans*, and courage ſhewn at the battaile of *Patay* and *Gargean*, with the conducting of the King unto *Rhemes*, are no ſuch prodigies, that they need to be aſcribed unto *Witchcraft*: She was not the firſt woman whom the world knew famed in armes, there being no Nation almoſt of the Earth, who have not had a Champion of this ſexe to defend their liberties: to omit the whole Nation of the *Amazon's*, to the *Jewes* in the time of their afflictions, the *Lord* raiſed up a Salvation by meanes of two women, *Deborah* and *Judith*: And *God* is not the *God* of the *Jewes* onely, but alſo of the *Gentiles*. Amongſt the *Sixvans*, *Zenobia*, Queen of *Palmira* is very famous: the *Romans* (whom ſhe often foiled) never mentioning her without honour. The like commendable teſtimony they give of *Velleda*, a Queen amongſt the

Ger-

Germanes, and a woman which much hindered their affaires in that Countrey: thus had the *Gothes* their *Amalasunta*, the *Assyrians* their *Semiramis* the *Scythians* their *Tomyres*; the *Romans* their *Flavia*, and brave Captaines, and such as posterity hath admired without envie. To come home unto our selves, the writers of the *Romans* mention the revolt of *Britaines* and the slaughter of 70000 Confederates to the *Romans*, under the conduct of *Vocudia*: and she in the beginning of her encouragements to the action telleth the people thus, *Solitum quidem Britannis fœminarum ductu bellare.* Of all these Heroicall *Ladyes*, I read no accusation of witchcraft; innative courage, and a sense of injury, being the armes they fought withall. Neither can I see why the *Romans* should exceed us in modesty, or that we need envie unto the *French* this one female Warriour: when it is a fortune which hath befallen most nations. As for her atchievements, they are not so much beyond a common being, but that they may be imputed to naturall meanes. For had she been a *Witch*, it is likely she would have prevented the disgrace which her valour suffered in the ditches of *Paris*; though she could not avoid those of *Champeigne* who took her prisoner. The *Divell* at such an exigent only being accustomed to forsake those which he hath intangled; so that she enjoyed not such a perpetuity of felicity, as to entitle her to the *Divells* assistance, she being sometimes conquerour, sometimes overthrowne, and at last imprisoned. *Communia fortunæ ludibria*, the ordinary sports of *Fortune*; her actions before her March to *Orleans* having somewhat in them of cunning and perhaps of impo-

ture, as the *Vision* which she reported to have incited her to these attempts; her finding out of the *King* disguised in the habit of a Country-man, and her appointing to her selfe an old sword, hanging in Saint *Katharines Church in Tours*. The *French* were at this time meerly creſt-fallen, not to be raiſed but by a miracle. This therefore is invented, and ſo that which of all the reſt muſt prove her a ſorcereſſe, will onely prove her an impoſtor. *Gerrard ſeigneur de Haillan*, one of the beſt writers of *France* is of opinion, that all that plot of her coming to the *King*, was contrived by three *Lords* of the Court to hearten the people, as if *God* now miraculouſly intended the reſtauration of the *Kingdome*. Add to this, that ſhe never commanded in any battaile, without the aſſiſtance of the beſt Captaines of the *French* Nation, and amongſt whom was the Baſtard of *Orleans*, who is thought to have put this device into her head. The Lord *Bellay* in his diſcourſe of Art Military, proceedeth further, and maketh her a man, onely thus habited: *Pour faire revenir le courage aux Francois*, which had it been ſo, would have been diſcovered at the time of her burning. Other of the later *French Writers* (for thoſe of the former age favour too much of the *Legend*) make her to be a luſty *laſſe* of *Lorreine*, trained up by the *Baſtard* of *Orleans* and the *Seigneur* of *Brandicourt*, only for this ſervice & that ſhe might carry with her the reputation of a *Propheteſſe*, and an *Ambaſſadreſſe* from Heaven. Admit this, and farewell *Witchcraft*. As for the ſentence of her Condemnation, and the confirmation of it by the *Divines* and *Univerſity* of *Paris*, it is with

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me of no moment, being composed onely to humour the *Victor*. If this could sway me, I had more reason to encline to the other party; for when *Charles* had setled his estate, the same man who had condemned her of Sorcery, absolved her; and there was also added in defence of her innocency, a Decree from the *Court* of *Rome*. *Joane* then with me shall inherit the title of *La puelle d'Orleans*, with me she shall be ranked amongst the famous Captaines of her time, and be placed in the same throne, equall with the valiant'st of all her Sex in times before her. Let those whom partiality hath wrested aside from the path of truth, proclaime her for a Sorceress: for my part I will not flatter the best Fortunes of my Countrey to the prejudice of a truth; neither will I ever be induced to think of this female Warriour otherwise than as of a noble *Captaine*.

— Audetq; viris concurrere Virgo.
Penthesilea *did it, why not she*
Without the stain of Spells and Sorcery?
Why should those Arts in her be counted sin,
Which in the other have commended been?
Nor is it fit that France *should be deny'd*
This Female Soldier; since all Realms beside
Have had the honour of one, and relate
How much that Sex hath ev'n forc'd the state
Of their decaying strength: let Scytha *spare*
To speak of Tomyris; *the* Assyrians *care*

Shall

Shall be no more to have their deeds recited
Of Ninus's *wife, nor are the* Dutch *delighted*
To have the name of their Velleda *extoll'd,*
the name
Of this French Warriour hath eclips'd their
fame,
And silenc'd their atchievements; let the
praise
That's due to Vertue wait upon her, raise
An Obelisk unto her, you of Gaule,
And let her Acts live in the mouths of all:
Speak boldly of her, and of her alone,
That never Lady was as good as Joane.
She dy'd a Virgin, 'twas because the earth
Held not a man, whose Vertues, or whose Birth
Might merit such a Blessing; but above
The Gods provided her a fitting Love,
And gave her to St. Denis; *she with him*
Protects the Lillies and their Diadem.
You then about whose Armies she doth watch,
Give her the honour due unto her Match.
And when in Field your Standard you ad-
vance,
Cry 'loud, St. Denis *and St.* Joan *for* France.

CHAP.

Chap. III.

The ſtudy of the Civil Law received in Europe. *The dead time of Learning. The Schoole of Law in* Orleans. *The Oeconomie of them. The Chancelour of* Oxford *anciently appointed by the Diocæſan there. Method here, and Prodigality in beſtowing Degrees.* Orleans *a great Conflux of Strangers. The Language there. The Corporation of* Germaines *there. Their Houſe and Privilege. Dutch Latine. The difference between an Academy and an Univerſity.*

I Have now done with the Town and City of *Orleans*, and am come to the *Univerſity* or *Schooles of Law* which are in it, this being one of the firſt places in which the Study of the *Civil Law* was received in *Europe*; for immediately after the death of *Juſtinian*, who out of no leſſe than two thouſand volumes of *Law-writers*, had collected that body of the *Imperiall Laws*, which we now call the *Digeſt*, or the *Pandects*, the ſtudy of them grew neglected in theſe *Weſterne* parts: nor did any for a long time profeſſe or read them. The reaſon was because *Italy*, *France*, *Spaine*, *England* and *Germany*, having received new *Lords* over them, as the *Franks*, *Lombards*, *Saxons*, *Sarcens*, and others, were faine to ſubmit themſelves to their *Lawes*.

It happened afterwards that *Lotharius Saxo* the *Emperour*, who began his Raigne *Anno* 1126, being 560 yeares after the death of *Justinian*, having taken the *City* of *Melphy* in *Naples*, found there an old Copy of the *Pandects*. This he gave to the *Pisans* his Confederates, as a most reverend relique of Learning and Antiquity, whence it is called *Litera pisana*. Moreover he founded the *University* of *Bologne*, or *Bononia* ordaining the *Civill Law*, to be profest therein, *Wernir* being the first *Professor*; upon whose advice the said *Emperour* ordained, that *Bononia* should be *Legum & Juris Schola una & sola*, and here was the first time and place of that study in the *Westerne Empire*. But it was not the fate onely of the *Civill Lawes* to be thus neglected, all other parts of Learning, both *Arts* and *Languages* were in the same desperate Estates. The *Poets* exclamation, *O cœlum insipiens & infacetum*, never being so appliable as in those times, for it is with the knowledge of good *Letters* as it is in the effects of *Nature*; they have their times of growth alike, of perfection and of death like the Sea, it hath its ebbs as well as its flouds; and like the Earth, it hath its Winter, wherein the seeds of it are deaded, and bound up, as well as a Spring wherein it re-flourisheth. Thus the learning of the *Greeks* lay forgotten, and lost in *Europe*, for 700 yeares, even unto *Emanuel Chrysolarus* taught it at *Venice*, being driven out of his owne *Country* by the *Turks*. Thus the *Philosophy* of *Aristotle* lay hidden in the moath of dust and *Libraries*; *Et nominabatur potiùs quam legebatur*, as *Ludovicus Vives* observeth in his notes. S. *Austin*,

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untill the time of *Alexander Aphrodiſeus*. Thus alſo lay the elegancies of the *Roman* tongue obſcure, till that *Eraſmus Moor* and *Reuclyn* in the ſeveral kingdomes of *Germany*, *England* and *France* endeavoured the reſtauration of it.

But to return to the *Civill Law*, after the foundation of the *Univerſity of Bologne*, it pleaſed *Philip le Bylle* King of *France*, to found another here at *Orleans* for the ſame purpoſe, *Anno* 1312. which was the firſt ſchool of that profeſſion, on this ſide the mountaines; this is evident by the Bull of *Clement* the fifth, dated at *Lyons* in the yeare 1367. where he giveth this title; *Fructiferum Univerſitatis Aurelianum ſis inter cetera Citramontana ſtudia prius, ſolennius, antiquius, tam Civilis, quam Canonica facultatis ſtudium.* At the firſt there were inſtituted eight *Profeſſors*, now they are reduced unto four onely, the reaſon of this decreaſe being the increaſe of *Univerſities*: the place in which they read their Lectures is called, *Les grands Eſcoles*, and that part of the City, *La Univerſitie*, neither of which attributes it can any way merit: *Colledges* they have none, either to lodge the *Students*, or to entertaine the *Profeſſors*; the former ſojourning in divers places of the Town, theſe laſt in their ſeverall houſes. As for their places of reading, which they call *Les grands Eſcoles*, it is onely an old Barne converted into a School, by the addition of five rankes of Formes, and a Pew in the middle; you never ſaw any thing ſo mock its own name: *Lucus* not being of more people called ſo, *à non lucendo*: then this ruinous houſe is, the *great School*, becauſe it is little. The preſent *Profeſſors*

are Mr. *Fournier*, the *Rector* at my being there, Mr. *Tullerie* and Mr. *Grand*: the fourth of them named Mr. *Angram*, was newly dead, and his place, like a dead pay among Soldiers, not supplied: In which estate was the function also of Mr. *Podes*, whose office it was to read the book of *Institutions*, unto such as come newly to the town. They read each of them an houre in their turnes every morning in the week, unlesse *Holy-dayes* and *Thursdayes*, their hearers taking their Lectures of them in their tables. Their principall office is that of the *Rector*; which every three moneths descendeth down unto the next, so that once in a yeare, every one of those *Professors* hath his turne of being *Rector*. The next in dignity unto him is the *Chancellor*, whose office is during life, and in whose names all degrees are given, and of the *Letters Authentiall* (as they terme them) granted. The present *Chancellor* is named Mr. *Bouchier*, Doctor of *Divinity*, and of both the *Lawes*; and *Prebend* also of the Church of S. *Croix*; his place is in the gift of the *Bishop* of *Orleans*, and so are the *Chancellors* places in all *France*, at the bestowing of the *Diocesan*: anciently it was thus also with us of *Oxford*; the *Bishop* of *Lincolne* nominating unto us our *Chancellors*, till the yeare, 1370. *William* of *Rammington* being the first *Chancellor* elected by the *University*.

In the bestowing of their degrees here, they are very liberall, and deny no man that is able to pay his fees: *Legem ponere*, is with them more powerfull than *Legem dicere*, and he that hath but his gold ready, shall have a sooner dispatch, than the best Scholar upon the ticket.

Ipse

Ipſe licet vinias Muſis comitatus Homere,
Si nihil attuleris, ibis Homere foras.

It is the *Money* that diſputeth beſt with them.

Money makes the man, ſaith the *Greek* and *Engliſh proverb.* That of one of the *Popes* (I remember not ſuddenly his name) who openly proteſted, that he would give the orders of *Prieſthood* to an *Aſſe*, ſhould the *King of England* commend an *Aſſe* unto him, may be moſt appolitely ſpoken of them. The exerciſe which is to be performed before the degree taken, is very little, and as trivially performed. When you have choſen the *Law*, which you mean to defend, they will conduct you into an old ruinous chamber, they call it their *Library*; for my part I ſhould have thought it to have been the *Wareh[ou]ſe* of ſome *ſecond hand Bookſeller*: thoſe few books which were there, were as old as Printing, and could hardly make amongſt them one cover to reſiſt the violence of a *Rat*. They ſtood not up endlong, but lay one upon the other, and were joyned together with *Cobwebs* inſtead of ſtrings; he that would ever geſſe them to have been looked into ſince the long reigne of Ignorance, might juſtly have condemned his own charity. For my part I was prone to believe, that the three laſt centuries of yeeres had never ſeen the inſide of them, or that the poor paper had been troubled with the diſeaſe called *Noli me tangere*. In this unlucky room doe they hold their diſputations, unleſſe they be ſolemne and full of expectation: and after two or three arguments urged, commend the ſufficiency of the *Reſpondent*, and pronounce him worthy of his degrees. That done, they cauſe

his *Authenticall Letters* to be sealed, and in them they tell the *Reader*, with what diligence and paines they sifted the *Candidate*: that it is necessary to the Common-wealth of *Learning*, that *Industry* should be honoured, and that on that ground they have thought it fitting. *Post angustias solamen, post vigilias requiescere, post dolores gaudia*, for so (as I remember) goeth the forme, to recompence the labours of *N. N.* with the degree of *Doctor* or *Licentiate*, with a great deale more of the like formall foolery; *Et ad hunc modum fiunt Doctores.*

From the Study of the *Law*, proceed we unto that of the *Language*, which is said to be better spoken here, then in any part of *France*, and certainly the people hereof speke it more distinctly then the rest, I cannot say more elegantly; yet partly for this reason, partly because of the study of the *Law*, and partly because of the sweetnesse of the aire; the Town is never without abundance of strangers of all Nations, which are in correspondency with the *French*: but in the greatest measure it is repleniſhed with those of *Germany*, who have here a *Corporation*, & indeed do make among themselves a better *Universitie* then the *University*. This *Corporation* consisteth of a *Procurator*, a *Quæstor*, an *Assessor*, two *Bibliothecarius*, and twelve *Counsellors*; they have all of them their distinct jurisdictions, and are solemnly elected by the rest of the company every third moneth. The *Consulship* of *Rome*, was never so welcome unto *Cicero*, as the office of *Procurator* is to a *Dutch Gentleman*: he for the time of his command, ordering the affaires of all his Nation, and to say truth, being much respected

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by those of the Towne; it is his office to admit of the young comers, to receive the moneyes due at their admission, and to receive an account of the dispending of it, of the *Questor*, and the expiring of his charge. The office of an *Assessor*, is like that of a *Clirk* of the *Councell*, and the *Secretary* next: for he registreth the *Acts* of their *Counsells*, writeth Letters in the name of the House, to each of the *French Kings*, at their new coming to the *Crown*, and if any *Prince*, or extraordinary *Ambassadour* cometh to the town, he entertaineth him with a Speech. The *Bibliothecaries* look to the *Library*, in which they are bound to remain three houres a day in their severall turnes; a pretty room it is, very plentifully furnished with choyce books, and that at small charge, for that it is here the custome, that every one of the Nation at his departure, must leave with them one of what kinde or price it best pleaseth him: besides, each of the Officers at the resigning of his charge, giveth unto the new *Questor*, a piece of gold about the value of a *Pistolet*; to be expended according as the necessities of their state require, which most an end is bestowed upon the increase of their *Library*.

Next unto this *Cité des Littrés* (as one of the *French Writers* calleth *Paris*) is their *Counsell-house*, an handsome square Chamber, and well furnished: In this they hold their *consultations*, and in this preserve their Records and Priviledges, the keeping of the one, and summoning the other, being meerly in the hands of the *Procurator*. About the Table they have five Chaires, for the five principall *Officers*, those of the *Councell* sitting round the *Cham-*

ber on Stools, the arms of the *Empire* being placed directly over every of the Seats: If it happen that any of them dye there, they all accompany him to his Grave, in a manner mixt so orderly of Griefe and State, that you would think the obsequies of some great *Potentate* were solemnizing; and to say truth of them, they are a hearty and loving Nation, not to one another onely, but to strangers, and especially to us of *England*. Onely I could wish that in their Speech and Complement they would not use the *Latine tongue*, or else speak it more congruously: You shall hardly finde a man amongst them, which can make a shift to expresse himselfe in that language, nor one amongst an hundred that can doe it *Latinely*. *Galleriam*, *Compaginem*, *Gardinum* and the like, are as usuall in their common discourse, as to drinke at three of the clock, and as familiar as their sleep. Had they bent their study that way, I perswade my self they would have been excellent good at the *Common Lawes*, their tongues so naturally falling on these words which are necessary to a *Declaration*: but amongst the rest, I took especiall notice of one Mr. *Gebour*, a man of that various mixture of words, that you would have thought his tongue to have been a very *Amsterdam of Languages*, *Cras mane* σὺν θεῷ *non irous ad magnam Galleriam*, was one of his remarkable speeches when we were at *Paris*: but here at *Orleans*, we had them of him thick and threefold. If ever he should chance to dye in a strange place, where his Countrey could not be knowne but by his tongue, it could not possibly be, but that more Nations would strive

for

for him, than ever did for *Homer*. I had before read of the confusion of *Babel*, in him I came acquainted with it: yet this use might be made of him, and his hotch-potch of *Languages*, that a good *Chymicall Physitian* would make an excellent medicine of it against the *Stone*. In a word, to goe no more upon the particulars, I never knew a people that spake more words and lesse *Latine*.

Of these ingredients is the *University of Orleans* compounded, if at least it be lawfull to call it an *University*, as I thinke it be not; the name of *Academie* would beseem it better, and *God* grant (as *Zancho Panca* said of his wife) it be able to discharge that calling. I know that these names are indifferently used, but not properly; for an *Academie* (the name is derived from a place neer *Athens*, called *Academia*, where *Plato* first taught *Philosophie*) in its strict and proper sense is such a study, wherein one or two Arts are professed, as *Law* at *Orleans* and *Bononia*, and *Physick* at *Montpellier* and *Padua*. An *University* is so called, *quòd Universæ ibi traduntur disciplinæ*, as the name importeth, where Learning is professed in the Generality, and in the whole ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία of it. The first the *Germans* call *Schola illustris*; the latter, *Generale Studium*: very opposite titles, and in which there is little of a *German*.

CHAP.

Chap. IV.

Orleans not an Universitie, till the coming of the Jesuits. Their Colledge there, by whom built. The Jesuits not Singers. Their laudable and exact Method of teaching. Their Policy in it. Received not without great difficulty into Paris. *Their houses in that Universitie. Their strictnesse unto the Rules of their order. Much maliced by the other Priests and Friers. Why not sent into* England *with the Queen. And of what order they were that came with her. Our returne to* Paris.

THe difference between an *Universitie* and an *Academy* standing thus; those which lived in our Fathers dayes, could hardly have called *Orleans* an *Universitie*: a *Schoole* of *Law* being the name most fit for it. At this time, since the coming of the *Jesuits*, that appellation may not misbecome it; they having brought with them those parts of Learning, which before were wanting in it: but that hath not been of any long standing, their *Colledge* being yet not fully finished: By an *Inscription* over the gate, it seemeth to be the work of Mr. *Cagliery*, one of the *Advocates* in the *Parliament* of *Paris*, a man of large practise, and by the consequence, of great possessions, and who having no child but this Colledge, is said

ſaid to intend the faſtening of his eſtate upon it. In this houſe doe thoſe of this order apply themſelves to the ſtudy of good *Letters*; in the purſuit whereof, as the reſt of this *Fraternity* are, they are good proficients, and much exceed all other ſorts of *Friers*, as having better teachers, and more leiſure to learn. That time which the other ſpend at their *High Maſſes*, and at their *Canonicall houres*, theſe men beſtow upon their books, they being exempted from thoſe duties by their order. Upon this ground they trouble not their heads with the *Crotchets* of *Muſick*, nor ſpend their mouthes upon the chanting out of their Services: they have other matters to employ their braines upon, ſuch as are the ruine of *Kingdoms* & deſolation of *Countreys*. It was the ſaying of *Themiſtocles*, being requeſted to play a Leſſon on the *Lute*, *That he could not fiddle, but he could tell how to make a little Town a great City*. The like may we ſay of the *Jeſuites*, they are no great ſingers, but are well skilled in making little *cities* great, and great ones little: and certaine it is, that they are ſo farre from any ability or deſire this way, that upon any of their ſolemne Feſtivals, when their Statutes require *Muſick*, they are faine to hire the Singing men of the next *Cathedrall*, as here upon the feaſt of their *Patron* St. *Ignatius*, being the 22. of *July*; they were compelled to make uſe of the voyces of the church of S. *Croix*.

To this advantage of leiſure is added the exact method of their teaching, which is indeed ſo excellent, that the *Proteſtants* themſelves in ſome places ſend their ſons to their *Schooles*, upon deſire to

have

have them prove exquisite in those arts they teach. To them resort the Children of the rich as well as of the poor, and that in such abundance, that wheresoever they settle; other houses become in a manner desolate, or frequented only by those of the more heavy and phlegmatick constitutions. Into their Schooles when they have received them, they place them in that forme or *Classe*, into which they are best fitted to enter. Of these *Classes* the lowest is for *Grammar*; the second for the composition or making of *Themes*, as we call it; the third for *Poetrie*, the fourth for *Oratory*, the fifth for *Greeke Grammar* and Compositions; the sixth for *Poesie* and *Rhetorick* of that Language; the seventh for *Logick*; and the eighth and last for *Philosophy*. In each of these Schools there is a severall Reader, or Institutor, who onely intendeth that art, and the perfection of it, which for that yeare he teacheth. That yeare ended, he removeth both himselfe and Schollars with him into the *Classes* or Schoole next beyond him, till he hath brought them through the whole study of humanity. In the last Forme, which is that of *Philosophy*, he continueth two yeares, which once expired, his Scholars are made perfect in the Universality of Learning, and themselves are manumitted from their *Tutors*, and permitted their private Studies. Nor doe they onely teach their Scholars an exactnesse in those severall parts of Learning which they handle: but they also endeavour to breed in them an obstinacy of minde, and a sturdy eagernesse of spirit, to make them thereby hot prosecutors of their own opinions, and impatient of any contrary consideration.

This

This it is which maketh all those of their education to affect *Victory* in all their controversies of Wit and Knowledge, with such a violence, that even in their very *Grammaticall disputations*, you shall find little boyes maintain arguments with such a fierce impatience, that you would think it above the nature of years; and all this they perform freely, and for nothing: the poore Paisants sonne being by them equally instructed with that of the *Noblesse*. By this meanes they get into their Society great honour and great strength: Honour in furnishing their Schooles with so many persons of excellent quality, or nobility, of whom afterwards they make their best advantages for their strength also: As for those of the poorer sort, they have also their ends upon them; for by this free and liberall education of their *children*, the common people doe infinitely affect them; besides that, out of that rank of their Scholars, they assume such into their fraternity, whom they finde to be of a rare wit, an excellent spirit, or any other way fitted for their profession.

Thus do they make their owne purpose out of all conditions, and refuse no fish which either they can draw into their nets, or which will offer it selfe into them. *Si locuples quis est, avari sunt; si pauper ambitiosi: quos non oriens non occidens satiaverit, soli omnium opes atque in piam opus affectu consumpsisse. Galgacus* a British Captaine spake it of the Souldiers of the *Roman Empire*, we may as justly verifie it of these Souldiers of the *Roman Church*: they being the men whom neither the *East* nor *West Indies* can satisfie, and who with a like fervency

vency desire the education of the needy and the wealthy. Moreover, by this method of teaching they do not onely strengthen themselves in the affections of men abroad, but also fortifie themselves within their owne walls at home; for by this meanes there is not one of their society who hath perfectly concocted in his head the whole ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία of knowledge, but hath gained unto himself the true art of speaking, and readinesse of expressing what he knoweth, without the least demur or hesitancie; the greatest happinesse of a Scholar. To conclude then, and say no more of them & their abilities (for *virtus & in hoste probatur*) it is thought by men of wisdome and judgement, that the planting of a *Colledge of Jesuits* in any place, is the onely sure way to re-establish that Religion which they professe, and in time to eat out the contrary.

This notwithstanding they were at the first institution of them rightly opposed, & no where more violently than in the University of *Paris*. An *University* that standeth much upon its liberties & privileges, to which this order was imagined to be an hindrance, it being lawfull for them to take any degree in their owne houses without reference to any publique exercise or examination. In the year 1554. at which time they first began to set foot in *France*, the *Colledge* of the *Sorbonists* made a long Decree against them: in the end whereof are these words, and they are worth the reading, *Videtur hac societas in negotio fidei periculosa, pacis & Ecclesiæ perturbativa, Monasticæ religionis everſiva, & magis ad destructionem quam ad ædificationem.* A censure too

full

full of vinegar and bitterneſſe: Afterwards in the yeare 1564. they preferred a Petition to the *Univerſity*, that the *Colledge* which the *Biſhop of Clermont* had built for them, might be incorporated into the *Univerſity*, and every the immunities of it: Upon the *Univerſities* deniall of their deſire, there aroſe a ſuit between them and the *Univerſity* in the *High court of Parliament*, *Peter Verſoriss* pleading for the *Jeſuits*, and *Steven Paſquier* for the other party: in the end they were admitted, though upon terms of wonderfull ſtrictneſſe. *Anno* 1594. *John Chaſtell* of *Novice* of this order, having wounded King *Henry* the fourth in the mouth, occaſioned the baniſhment of this Society out of all *France*. Into which they were not againe received till the yeare 1604. and then alſo upon limitations more ſtrict than ever. Into *Paris* they were not re-admitted untill *Anno* 1606. neither had they the liberty of reading Lectures, and inſtructing the Youth, confirmed unto them untill *Anno* 1621. which alſo was compaſſed not without great trouble and vexation.

Per varios caſus & tot diſcrimina rerum,
as *Æneas* and his companions came into *Latium*.

In this *Univerſity* they have at this inſtant three *Houſes*, one of *Novices*, a ſecond of *Inſtituters*, which they call the *Colledge*, and a third of profeſſed *Jeſuits*, which they ſtile their *Monaſtery*, or the *profeſſed Houſe* of St. *Lewis*. In their houſe of *Novices* they traine up all thoſe whom they have called

called out of their Schooles, to be of their order, and therein imitate them in the art of *Jesuitisme*, and their mysteries of iniquity. There they teach them not *Grammaticall* construction, or compositon, but instruct them in the paths of Vertue, Courage, and Obedience, according to such examples as their *Authors* afford them. But he that made the Funerall Oration for *Henry* the fourth, *Anno* 1610. reported otherwise: *Latini Sermonis obtentu* (saith he) *impurissime Gallicæ juventutis mores ingenuos fœdant: Bonarum artium prætextu, pessimas edocent artes: Dum ingenia excolunt, animas perdunt*, &c. In their *College* they have the same method of teaching, which the others of their company use in *Orleans*. A *Colledge* first given unto them by Mr. *William Prat*, Bishop of *Clermont*, whose House it was, but much beautified by themselves after his decease; for with the money which he gave unto them by his Will, which amounteth (as it was thought) to 60000. Crowns; they added to it the *Court* called *de Langres*, in S. *James's* street; *An.* 1582. Their *Monastery*, or house of prayer or *profession*, is that unto which they retire themselves, after they have discharged their duties in the *College*, by reading and studying publickly in their severall *Classes*; when they are here, their study both for time and quality, is *ad placitum*, though generally their onely study in it, is *Policy*, and the advancing of their cause. And indeed out of this *Trojan Horse* it is that those firebrands and incendiaries, are let out to disturb, and set in combustion the affaires of *Christendome*. Out of this Forge come all those Strategems, and tricks of *Machiavillianisme* which tend

tend to the ruine of the *Protestants* & the desolation of their Countries. I speak not this of their house of *Profession* here in *Paris*, either onely or principally; wheresoever they settle, they have a House of this nature, out of which they issue to overthrow the *Gospel*. Being once sent by their superiours, a necessity is laid upon them of obedience, be the imployment never so dangerous; and certainly this nation doth most strictly obey the rules of their order of any whosoever, not excepting the *Capuchins*, nor the *Carthusians*. This I am witnesse unto, that whereas the *Divinity Lecture* is to end at the tolling of a Bell, one of the Society in the *College* of *Clermont*, reading about the fall of the *Angells*, ended his Lecture with these words, *Demique in quibusdam*; for then was the warning given, and he durst not so farre trespasse upon his rule, as to speak out his sentence.

But it is not the fate of these *Jesuites* to have great persons onely, and *Universities* to oppose their fortunes, they have also the most accomplisht malice, that either the *Secular Priests*, or their friends amongst whom they live, can fasten upon them. Some envy them for the greatnesse of their possessions, some because of the excellency of their Learning; some hate them for their power; some for the shrewdnesse of their braines; all together making good that saying of *Paterculus*, that *Semper quodcunque fortunæ comes est invidia*. True indeed it is, that the *Jesuites* have in a manner deserved all this clamor and stomack by their own insolencies, for they have not onely drawne into their owne hands all the principall affaires of *Court*

and *State*, but upon occasions cast all the scorne and contempt they can upon those of the other Orders. The *Janizaries* of the *Turke* never more neglectfully speak of the *Asapi*, than these doe of the rest of the *Clergie*. A great crime in those men who desire to be accounted such excellent Masters of their owne affections. Neither is the affection borne to them abroad, greater then that at home; amongst those, I mean, of the opposite party, who being so often troubled and trumped by them, have little cause to afford them a liking, and much lesse a welcome. Upon this reason they were not sent into *England* with the *Queen*, although at the first they were destinate to that purpose. It was well known how odious that name was among us, and so little countenance the *Court* or Country would have afforded them. They therefore that had the governance of that businesse, sent hither in their places the *Oratorians* or *Fratres Congregationis Oratorii* were a race of men never as yet offensive to the *English*, further than the generall defence of the *Romish* cause, and so lesse subject to envie and exception. They were first entituled by *Philip Nerius*, not long after the *Jesuits*, and advanced and dignified by *Pope Sixtus* the fifth, principally for this end, that by their incessant Sermons to the People of the lives of *Saints*, and other *Ecclesiasticall antiquities*, they might get a new reputation, and so divert a little the torrent of the peoples affections from the *Jesuits*. *Baronius*, that great and excellent *Historian*; and *Bazius* that deadly enemy to the soveraignty of *Princes*, were of the first foundation of this new order.

I have now done with *Orleans* and the *Jesuits*, and must prepare for my returne to *Paris*, which journey I began the 23. of *July*, and ended the day following. We went back the same way that we came, though we were not so fortunate as to enjoy the same company we came in formerly: Instead of the good and acceptable society of one of the *French Noblesse*, some Gentlemen of *Germany*, and two *Friers* of the Order of S. *Austin*, we had the perpetuall vexation of foure Tradesmen of *Paris*, two *Fulles de Joy*, and an old Woman. The *Artizans* so slovenly attired, and greazy in their apparell, that a most modest apprehension could have conceived no better of them, than that they had been newly raked out of the Scullery: one of them by an inkhorne that hung by his side, would have made us believe that he had been a *Notary*; but by the thread of his discourse, we found out that he was a *Sumner*; so full of *Ribaldry* was it, and so rankly did it savour of the *French Bawdy court*. The rest of them talked according to their skill, concerning the price of Commodities; and who was the most likely man of all the *City* to be made one of the next yeares *Eschevins*: Of the two Wenches, one so extremely impudent, that even an immodest eare would have abhorred her language, and of such a shameless deportment, that her very behaviour would have frighted Lust out of the most incontinent man living. Since I first knew mankinde and the world, I never observed so much impudency in the generall, as I did then in her particular, and I hope shall never be so miserable as to suffer two dayes more the torment of her, and of

her conversation. In a word, she was a wench borne to shame all the *Friers* with whom she had to ffiqued; for she would not be *Casta*, and could not be *Cauta*; and so I leave her. A creature extremely bold, because extremely faulty, and yet having no good property to redeem both these and other unlovely qualities; but as Sir *Philip Sidney* saith of the *strumpet Bucchia*, in the *Arcadia*, a little counterfeit Beauty disgraced with wandring eyes, and unweighed speeches. The other of the young females (for as yet I am doubtfull whether I may call any of them women) is of the same profession also, but not halfe so rampant as her companion;

Hæc habitu casto cum non sit casta videtur.

as *Ausonius* giveth it of one of the two wanton Sisters: by her carriage a charitable stranger would have thought her honest; and to that favourable opinion had my self been inclinable, if a *French Monsieur* had not given me her *Character* at *Orleans*: besides, there was an odde twinkling of her eye, which spoyled the composednesse of her countenance, otherwise she might have passed for currant, so that I may safely say of her, in respect of her fellow-harlot, what *Tacitus* doth of *Pompey* in reference to *Cæsar*, viz. *Secretior Pompeius Cæsare, non melior*; they were both equally guilty of the same sin, though this last had the more cunning to dissemble it, and avoyd the infamy and censure due unto it. And so I am come to the old Woman, which was the last of our goodly companions; A

woman

woman so old, that I am not at this day fully resolved whether she were ever young or no; 'twas well I had read the Scriptures, otherwise I might have been prone to have thought her one of the first pieces of the Creation, and that by some mischance she had escaped the Flood: her face was for all the world like unto that of *Sybilla Erythræa* in some old print, or that of one of *Solomons* two Harlots in the painted cloth; you would not but have imagined her one of the *Relikes* of the first age after the building of *Babel*, for her very complexion was a confusion more dreadfull than that of Languages; as yet I am uncertain whether the Poem of our *Arch-Poet Spencer*, entituled

was not purposely intended on her: sure I am it is very appliable in the Title; but I might have saved all this labour: *Ovid* in his description of *Fames*, hath most exactly given us her Portraiture, and out of him and the eighth book of the *Metamorphosis*, you may take this view of her;

Nullus erat crinis, cava lumina, pallor in ore,
Labra incana situ, scabri rubigine dentes,
Dura cutis, per quã spectari viscera possent,
Ventris erat pro ventre locus, pẽdere putares
Pectus, & a spinæ tantummodo crate teneri;

Unhair'd, pale-fac'd, her eyes sunk in her head,
Lips hoary-white, and teeth most rusty red.
Through her course skin her guts you might e-
In what estate and posture they did lie. (spie

Belly she had none, onely there was seen
The place where her belly should have been:
And with her Hips her body did agree,
As if 'twere fastned by Geometry.

But of this our *Companion*, as also of the rest of the Coach full, *Sunday-night* and our arrival at *Paris*, hath at the last delivered us. Ablessing, for which I can never be sufficiently thankfull: and so are we.

Dedit Deus his quoque finem.

The Fourth Book: Or PICARDY.

CHAP. I.

Our return towards England, *more of the* Hugonots *hate unto Croſſes. The Towns of* Luzarch *and St.* Lowp: *The Country of* Picardy *and People: The* Picts *of* Brittain *not of this Country: Mr.* Leſdiguier *Governour of* Picardy: *The Office of Conſtable what it is in* France; *By whom the place ſupplied in* England. *The Marble Table in* France, *and Cauſes there handled.* Clermont *and the Caſtle there: The Warrs raiſed by the Princes againſt* D' Ancre: *What his Deſigns might tend to, &c.*

IVly the twenty ſeventh having diſpatched that buſineſs which brought us into *France*, and ſurveyed as much of the *Country* as that opportunity would permit us: we began our journey towards *England*

land in a Coach of *Amiens*; better accompanied we were, than when we came from *Orleans*; for here we had Gentlemen of the choiſeſt faſhion, very ingenuous, and in mine opinion finer conditioned than any I had met withal, in all my acquaintance with that Nation, and which appeared to me ſomewhat marvellous, we had no vexation with us in the ſhape of a *French-woman*, to torment our ears with her diſcourſe, or puniſh our eyes with her complexion. Thus aſſociated we began to wag on towards *St. Lowp*, where that night we were to be lodged. The *Country* ſuch as already I have deſcribed it in the *Iſle* of *France*; ſave that beyond *St. Denis* it began to be ſomewhat more hilly: by the way I obſerved thoſe little croſſets erected in the memory of *St. Denis* (as being vainly ſuppoſed to be his reſting places, when he ran from *Mountmartyr* with his head in his hand) which the zealous madneſs of the *Hugonots* had thrown down, and were now reedifyed by *King Lewis*: It could not but call to mind the hate of that Nation unto that harmleſs monument of Chriſts ſuffering, the *Croſs*; which is grown, it ſeemeth, ſo exorbitant, that the *Papiſts* make uſe of it to diſcover an *Hugonot*.

I remember that as we paſſed by water from *Amiens* to *Abbeville*, we met in the boat with a berry of *French Gentlewomen*. To one of them, with that little *French* which I had, I applied my ſelf; and ſhe perceiving me to be *Engliſh*, queſtioned my *Religion*: I anſwered (as I ſafely might) that I was a *Catholike*: and ſhe for her better ſatisfaction proffered me the little *croſs* which was

on

on the top of her beads to kiss: I kissed it, and rather should I desire to kiss it than many of their lips: whereupon the rest of the company gave of me this verdict, that I was *un vrai Christien et ne point un Hugonet.* But to proceed to our journey.

The same day we parted from *Paris* we passed through the Town of *Luzarch*, and came to that of *St. Lomp.* The first famous onely in its owner, which is the *Count* of *Soisons*: the second in an *Abbey* there seituate, built in memory of *St. Lupus Bishop of Troyes* in *Campagne.* These Towns passed, we entred into *Picardy.*

Picardy is divided into the higher, which containeth the territories of *Calais* and *Bullogne*, with the Town of *Monstreville* and the lower; wherein are the goodly *Cities* of *Amiens*, *Abeville*, and many other places of principal note. The higher, which is the lesser, and more Northern part, is bounded *North* and *west* with the *English Ocean*, and on the *East* with *Flanders* and *Artois.* The later, which is the larger, the richer and the more Southern, hath on the *East* the little *County* of *Veromandois*, on the *West Normandy*, and on the *South* the *County* of *Campaigne.* In length it comprehendeth all the fifty one degree of *Latitude*, and three parts of the fiftieth, extending from *Calais* in the *North* to *Clermont* in the *South.* In breadth it is of a great inequality: For the higher *Picardy* is like *Linea* amongst the *Logicians*, which they define to be *Longitudo sine Latitudine*, it being indeed nothing in a manner but a meer border. The lower is of a larger breadth, and containeth

taineth in it the wole twenty fourth degree of *Longitude*, and a fourth part of the twenty three. So that by the proportion of degrees this province is an hundred and five miles long, and seventy five broad.

Concerning the name of *Picardy*, it is a difficulty beyond my reading and my conjecture. All that I can do is, to overthrow the leſs probable opinions of other Writers; and make my ſelf ſubject to the ſcoffe which *Lactantius* beſtoweth on *Ariſtotle*. *Recte his ſaltulit aliorum diſciplinas, ſed non recte fundavit ſuam.* Some then derive it from *Pignan*, one forſooth of *Alexander* the greats Captains, who they fain to have built *Amiens* and *Pigmingin*; an abſurdity not to be honoured with a confutation. Some from the Town of *Pigmingin* it ſelf, of which mind is *Mercator*; but that Town never was of ſuch note as to name a *Province*. Others derive it from *Picardus*, a fanatical heretick of theſe parts, about the year 1300. and after; but the appellation is farre older than the man. Others fetch it from the *Picts* of *Brittanie*, whom they would have to fly hither, after the diſcomfiture of their *Empire* and *Nation* by the *Scots*. A tranſmigration of which all Hiſtories are ſilent: this being the verdict of the beſt *Antiquary* ever nurſed up in *Brittain*. *Picti itaque prelio funeſtiſſimo debellati, aut penitus fuerunt extincti, aut paulatim in Scotorum nomen & nationem conceſſerint.* Laſtly, ſome others derive the name from *Pigs*, which ſignifyeth a *Lance* or *Pike*: the inventors of which warlike Weapon the fathers of this device would fain make them. In like manner ſome of *Germany* have

have laboured to prove, that the *Saxons* had that name given them, from the short Swords which they used to wear, called in their language *Seaxen*: but neither truly: For my part, I have consulted *Ptolomie* for all the Nations, and the *Itinerarium* of *Antonius* for all the Towns in this Tract, but can find no one, of which I may fasten any probable *Etymologie*. All therefore that I can say, is that which *Mr. Robert Bishop* of *Auranches* in *Normandy* hath said before me, and that onely in the general: *Quos itaque et as nostra Picardos appellat, Vere Belgæ dicendi sunt, qui post modum in Picardorum nomen transmigrarunt.*

This *Country* is very plentiful of corn and other grain, with which it abundantly furnisheth *Paris*; and hath in it more store of pasture and meadow ground, than I else saw in any part of *France*: In Vines onely it is defective, and that, (as it is thought) more by the want of industry in the people, than any inability in the soyl; for indeed they are a people that will not labour more than they needs must; standing much upon their state and distance, in the carriage of their bodies savouring a little of the *Spaniard*; when *Picardiser*, to play the *Picard* is usually said of those who are lofty in their looks, or gluttonous at their tables: this last being also one of their simptomes of a *Picard*.

The Governour of this *Province* is the *Duke les Deguiers*; into which Office he succeeded Mr. *Laynes*, as he also did in that of the *Constable*; two preferments which he purchased at a deer rate, having sold or abandoned that Religion to compass

them, which he had professed for more than sixty years together. An Apostasie most unworthy of the man, who having for so many years supported the cause of Religion, hath now forsaken it, and thereby made himself guilty of the cowardice of *M. Antonius*, *qui cum in desertores saevire debuerat desertor sui exercitus fuit.* But I fear an heavier sentence waiteth upon him; the Crown of immortality not being promised to all those which run, but to those onely which hold out to the end: For the present indeed he hath augmented his honours. By this Office, which is the principal of all *France*, he hath place and command before and over all the *Peers* and *Princes* of the bloud, and at the coronation of the French Kings ministreth the Oath. When the *King* entereth a City in state, or upon the rendition of that, he goeth before with the Sword naked; and when the *King* sitteth in an Assembly of the three *Estates*, he is placed at the *Kings* right hand: he hath command over all his Majesties Forces, and he that killeth him is guilty of high treason: he sitteth also as cheif Judge at the Table of *Marble*, upon all suits, actions, persons and complaints whatsoever concerning the warrs.

This Table *de Marble* was wont to be continually in the great Hall of the *palace* of *Paris*; from whence at the burning of that Hall it was removed to the *Louure*. At this Table doth the *Admiral* of *France* hold his Sessions, to judge of traffick, prizes, Letters of Marts, piracies and business of the like nature. At this Table judgeth all *Le grand Maistre des eaues et Forrests*, we may call him the

Justice

in *Eire* of all his Majesties Forrests and Waters. The actions there handled are thefts and abuses committed in the *Kings* Forrests, Rivers, Parks, Fish-ponds and the like. In the absence of the *Grand Maistre*, the power of sentence resteth in the *Les grands Maistres enquesteurs, et generaux reformateurs*, who have under their command no fewer than 300 Subordinate Officers. Here also sit the *Marshals* of *France*, who are ten in number, sometimes in their own power, sometime as *Assistants* to the *Constable*, under whose direction they are: with us in *England* the authority of the *Marshalship* is more entire, as that which besides its own jurisdiction, hath now incorporated in it self most of the matters anciently belonging to the *Constables*: which Office ended in the death of *Edward Lord Duke of Buckingham*, the last hereditary and proprietary *Constable* of *England*. This Office of *Constable*, to note unto you so much by the way, was first instituted by *Lewis* the *Gross*, who began his reign *Anno* 1110. and conferred on *Mr. Lee Deputie* on the 24th of *July Anno* 1622. in the Cathedral Church of *Grenoble*, where he first heard *Mass*, and where he was installed *Knight* of both Orders. And so I leave the *Constable*, to take a veiw of his *Province*: A man at this time beloved of neither parties; hated by the *Protestants* as an *Apostata*, and suspected by the *Papists* not to be entire.

To proceed: *July* the twenty eighth we came unto *Clermont*, the first Town of any note that we met with in *Picardy*. A pretty neat Town, and finely seated on the rising of an hill: For the de-

fence of it, it hath on the upper side of it an indifferent large *Castle*, and such as were the scituations of it, somewhat helped by the strengths of Art, might be brought to good service. Towards the Town it is of an easie access, to the fieldward more difficult, as being built on the pendicular fall of a Rock. In the year 1615. it was made good by *Mr. Harcourt* with the Regiment of eight Companies, who kept it in the name of the *Prince* of *Conde*, and the rest of that Confederacy; but it held not long: For at the *Marshal d' Ancres* coming before it with his Army and artillery, it was presently yeilded. This warr, which was the second *Civil warr* that had happened in the reign of *King Lewis*, was undertaken by the *Princes* chiefly to thwart the designes of the *Queen Mother*, and to crush the powerableness of her grand favourite the *Marshall*. The pretence (as in such cases commonly is) was the good of the Commonwealth: the occasion, the cross *Marriages* then consummated by the *Marshal* between the *Kings* of *France* and *Spain*: For by those marriages they seemed to fear the augmentation of the *Spaniards* greatness; the alienation of the affections of their ancient Allies, and by consequence the ruine of the *French Empire*. But it was not the fate of *D' Ancre* to perish; two years more of Command and insolencies his *destinies* allowed, and then he tumbled: This opportunity of his death ending the third *Civil war*, each of which his faulty greatness had occasioned.

What the ambition of his designs did tend to, I dare not absolutely determine, though like enough

it is, that they aimed further than at a private or perſonal potency: for having under the favour and countenance of the *Queen Mother*, made himſelf Maſter of the *King's* ear, and of his counſels, he made a ſhift to get into his own hands an authority almoſt as unlimitted, as that of the old *Mayre* of the *Palace*; for he had ſuppreſſed the liberty of the general Eſtates, and of the *Soveraign Court*, removed all the *Officers* and *Counſellors* of the laſt *King*: raviſhed one of the *Preſidents* of the great Chamber, by name *Mr. Le Jay*, out of the *Parliament* into the Priſon; and planted Garriſons of his own in moſt of the good Towns of *Normandy*, of which *Province* he was Governour: Add to this, that he had cauſed the *Prince* of *Condé*, being acknowledged the firſt Prince of the bloud, to be impriſoned in the *Baſtile*: and had ſearched into the continuance of the lives of the *King* and his Brother by the help of ſorcery and witchcraft: Beſides he was ſuſpected to have had ſecret intelligence with ſome forrain *Princes*, ill-willers to the State, and had diſgraced ſome, and neglected others of the *King's* Confederates: And certainly thoſe actions ſeem to import ſome project beyond a private and obedient greatneſs; though I can hardly beleive, that he durſt be ambitious of the *Crown*; for being a fellow of a low birth, his heart could not but be too narrow for ſuch an hope, and having no party amongſt the Nobility, and being leſs gratious among the people, he was altogether deſtitute of means to compaſs it. I therefore am of opinion, that the *Spaniſh gold* had corrupted him to ſome project

concerning the enlargement of that *Empire* upon the *French* dominions, which the *cross Marriages* (whereof he was the contriver) and which seemed so full of danger to all the best *Patriots* of *France*, may seem to demonstrate. And again, at that time, when he had put the Realm into this third combustion, the *King* of *Spain* had an Army on foot against the *Duke* of *Savoy*, and another in the Countries of *Cleve* and *Juliers*; which had not the timely fall of this *Mansieur*, and the peace ensuing prevented it, might both perhaps have met together in the midst of *France*: but this is onely conjectural.

Chap. II.

The fair City of Amiens, *and greatness of it. The* English *feasted within it, and the error of that action: The Town how built, seated and fortified: The Cittadel of it thought to be impregnable, not permitted to be veiwed. The over-much openness of the* English *in discovering their strengths: The watch and form of government in the Town.* Amiens *a* Vicedamate, *and to whom it pertaineth. What that honour is in* France, *and how many there enjoy it, &c.*

THat night we went from *Clermont* to a Town called *Bretaul*, where we were harboured, being

ing from *Clermont* six *French* Leagues, and from *Paris* twenty. Our entertainment there such as in other places, as sluttish and as inconvenient. The next day, being the twenty ninth, about ten of the clock we had a sight of the goodly and fair *City* of *Amiens*. A *City* of some *English* miles circuit within the wals, which is all the greatness of it, for without the wals it hath houses few or none. A *City* very capacious, and for that cause hath been many times honoured with the persons and trains of many great *Princes*; Besides that, once it entertained almost a whole Army of the *English*. For *King Lewis* the eleventh having made an advantagious peace with our *Edward*, and perceiving how ingrateful it was amongst the military men, he intended also to give them some manner of satisfaction: he sent therefore unto them three hundred Carts laden with the best Wines, and seeing how acceptable a present that had proved, he intended also to feast them in *Amiens*; within half a league of which their Camp was lodged. This entertainment lasted four dayes, each street having in it two long tables, and each table being furnished with very plentiful provision Neither were they denied entrance into any of the Taverns or Victualling-houses, or therein stinted either in meats or drinks, whatsoever was called for, was defraied by *King Lewis*. An action wherein, if my opinion might carry it, there was little of the *Politician*; for there were permitted to enter into the Town so many of the *English-men* at once, that had they been but so minded, they might easily have made themselves as well Masters of the place, as of

the *Kings person*: nine thousand are reckoned by *Comminees* to have been within together, and most of them armed; so that they might very easily have surprised the Gates and let in the rest of the Army. Those of the *French Kings Council* feared it much, and therefore informed both *Princes*, the one of his Town, the other of his *honour*. But this jealousie was but a *French* distrust, and might well have been spared: the *English* being of that *Generals* mind, that scorned to steal a *Victory*, and of that generous disposition, that they would not betray their credits. *Nunquam illis adeo nulla opportuna visa est victoria occasio, quam damno pensa-rent fidei*; as the Historian of *Tiberius*. If then this *City* escaped a sack or a surprisal, it cannot be imputed to the wisdom of the *French*, but to the modesty and fair dealing of the *English*: but this was not the onely *Solaecisme* in point of State committed by that great *Politick* of his time *King Lewis*, there never being a man so famed for brain, that more grosly over-reached himself, than that *Prince*, though perhaps more frequently.

The buildings of this Town are of divers materials, some built of stone, others of wood, and some again of both: the streets very sweet and clean, and the air not giving place to any for a lively pureness: Of their buildings the principal are their *Churches*, whereof there are twelve onely in number. Churches, I mean, parochial, besides those belonging unto *Religious Houses*. Next unto them, the work of most especial note, is a great large *Hospital*, in method and disposing of the beds much like unto the *Hostel Dieu* in *Paris*, but its

number

number much inferior: *Et me tamen capuerant*: and yet the decency of them did much delight me. The sweetness and neatness of the Town proceedeth partly (as I say) from the air, and partly from the conveniencie of the *River* of *Some*, on which it is seated: for the River running in one entire bank at the further end of the Town, is there divided into six *Channels*, which almost at an equal distance run through the several parts of it. These Channels thus divided receive into them all the ordure and filth wherewith the Town were otherwise likely to be pestered, and affordeth the people a plentiful measure of water, wherewith to purge the lanes and by-corners of it, as often as them listeth. But this is not all the benefit of these Channels; they bestow upon the *City* matter also of commodity, which is the infinite number of *Grieſs-Mils* that are built upon them. At the other end of the Town the Channels are again united into one stream, both those places, as well at the division as the union, of the Channels being exceedingly fortified with chains and piles, and also with bulwarks and out-works.

Neither is the Town well fortified and strengthened at those passages onely in the upper parts of it, having enough of strength to enable them to a long resistance. The *Ditch* round about it, save where it meeteth with the *Cittadel*, is exceeding deep and steepy, the wals of a good height, broad and composed of earth and stone equally: the one making up the outside of them, and the other the inside. The Gates are very large and strong, as well in the fine wie composition of themselves, as

in

in addition of the Draw-bridge. *Subbarbs* this *City* hath none, because a Town of Wart, nor any liberal circuit of territory, because a Frontier: yet the people are indifferent wealthy, and have amongst them good trading, besides the benefit of the Garrison and the Cathedral. The Garrison consisteth of two hundred and fifty men (five hundred in all they should be) who are continually in pay to guard the Cittadel: their pay eight Sols daily. The Governour of them is the *Duke* of *Chaune*, who is also the Lieutenant or *Deputy Governour* of the whole *Province* under the *Constable*. Their *Captain Mr Le Noyr*, said to be a man of good experience, and worthy his place. This *Cittadel* was built by *Henry* the fourth as soon as he had recovered the Town from the *Spaniards*, *Anno* 1591. It is seated on the lower part of the *City*, though somewhat on the advantage of an hill; and seemeth in my opinion better scituate to command the Town, than to defend it, or rather to recover the Town, being taken, than to save it from taking. They who have seen it, and know the arts of Fortification, report it to be impregnable.

——— *Quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignes*
Nec potuit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.

Nor am I able to contradict it: for besides that it is a skill beyond my profession, we were not permitted to come within it, to take a survey of it at a distance: As soon as we approached nigh unto it, one of the Garrison offered us the musket, a sufficient

sufficient warning not to be too venterous. So that all I could observe was this, that they had within themselves good plenty of earth to make their gabions and repair their breaches. With the same jealousie also are the best of the Forts and Towns of importance guarded in this and other Countries: no people that ever I heard of being so open in shewing their places of strength and safety unto strangers as the *English*: For a dozen of Ale a Forreiner may pace over the *Curtains of Portsmouth*, and measure every sconce and bulwark of it; for a shilling more he shall see their provision of powder and other munition, and when that is done, if he will, he shall walk the round too. A *French* crown fathometh the wall of *Dover Castle*; and for a pint of Wine one may see the weakedness of the block-houses at *Gravesend*. A negligence which may one day cost us dearly, though now we think it not. For what else do we in it, but commit that prodigal folly, for which *Plutarch* condemneth *Pericles*? *Viz.*

&c. that is, to break open all the pales and inclosures of our Land, to the end that every man might come in freely, and take away our fruits at his pleasure. *Jealousie*, though a vice in a man toward his Wife, is yet one of the safest Vertues in a *Governour* towards his Fortress, and therefore I could wish, that an *English man* would borrow a little of this *Italian* humor. Besides these Souldiers which are continually in garrison for the defence of the Cittadel, there are also three hundred which keep watch every night for the defence of the *City*. These watch-

watchmen receive no pay from the *King*, but discharge that duty amongst themselves, and in turns, every house finding one for that service twelve nights in the year: The Weapons which they use are *Pikes* only and *Musquets*, there being not one peice of Ordinance all about the Town, or on the wals of it. The *Governour* of this Town, as it hath reference to the *King*, is a *Bailly*, who hath belonging unto him all the authority which belongeth to a *Siege Presidial*. Under him he hath a *Lieutenant General* and particular, seven *Counsellors*, a publick *Notary*, and other inferior Officers and Magistrates. As it is a *Corporation* the Cheif *Governour* of it is a *Mayor*, and next to him the *Eschevins* or *Sheriffs*, as *Protectors* of the Inhabitants and their Liberties, besides those of the *Common-Council*.

Another Circumstance there is which ennobleth this Town of *Amiens*, which is, that it is a *Visedamate*, or that it giveth honour to one of the *Nobility*, who is called the *Visedame* of *Amiens*. This title at this time belongeth to the *Duke* of *Chaunes*, Governour of the *Citadel*, together with the *Lordship* of *Pigingin*; both which he obtained by marrying the Daughter and Heir of the last *Visedame* of *Amiens*, and *Lord* of *Pigingin*, *Anno* 1619. A marriage which much advanced his fortunes, & which was compassed for him by the *Constable Luynes* his brother, who also obtained for him of the *King* the title of *Duke*: His highest attribute before, being that of *Mr. de Cadinet*, by which name he was known here in *England*, at such time as he was sent extraordinary *Ambassadour* to *King James*.

James. This honour of *Visedame* is, for ought that ever I could see, used onely in *France*. True it is, that in some *English* Charters we meet with *Vice-Dominus*, as in the *Charter* of *King Edred* to the *Abbey of Crowland* in *Lincoln-shire*, dated in the year 948. there is subscribed, *Ego Bingulph Vice-dominus*, &c. but with us, and at those times, this title was onely used to denotate a subordination to some superior *Lord*, and not as an honorary attribute, in which sense it is now used in *France*: besides that, with us it is frequently, though falsly, used for *Vicecomes*: between which two Offices of *Vicount* and *Vidame* there are found no small resemblances: For as they which did *agere Vicem Comitis*, were called *Vicecomites* or *Vicomits*, so were they also called *Vidames*, or *Vice-Domini*, *qui Domini Episcopi vicem gerebant in temporalibus*. And as *Vicountes* from Offices of the *Earles* became *honorary*; so did the *Vidames* disclaim the relation to the *Bishop*, and became *Seigneural* or *honorary* also.

The *Vidames* then, according to the first institution, were the substitutes of the greater *Bishops* in matters of secular administration, for which cause, though they have altered their tenure, they take all of them their denomination from the cheif Town of some *Bishoprick*; neither is there any of them, who holdeth not of some *Bishoprick* or other: Concerning the number of them that are thus dignified I cannot determine. *Mr. Glover*, otherwise called *Sommerset Herald*, in his discourse of *Nobility*, published by Mr. *Miles* of *Canterbury*, putteth it down for absolute, that here are four onely,

onely, *Viz.* of *Amiens*, of *Chartres*, of *Chalons*, and of *Gerbery* in *Bauvais*: but in this he hath deceived both himself and his Readers; there being besides these divers others, as of *Rheims*, *Mans*, and the like: but the particular and exact number of them, together with the place denominating, I leave to the *French Heraldry*, unto whose profession it belongeth.

Chap. III.

The Church of Nostre-Dame *in* Amiens: *The Principal Churches in most Cities called by her name: More honour performed to her, than to her* Saviour: *The surpassing beauty of this Church on the outside: The front of it.* King Henry *the seventh's Chappel at* Westminster: *The curiousness of this Church within: By what means it became to be so: The three sumptuous Massing-Closets in it: The excellency of Perspective works. Indulgencies by whom first founded: The estate of the Bishoprick.*

THere is yet one thing which addeth more lustre to the Citie of *Amiens*, than either the *Visdamate*, or the *Citadel*, which is the Church of *Nostre Dame*: a name by which most of the principal

principal Churches are known in *France*: there have we the *Nostre Dame* in *Roven*, a second in *Paris*, a third in this *City*, a fourth in *Boulogne*, all *Cathedrall*; so also a *Nostre Dame* in *Abbeville*, and another in *Estampes*, the principal Churches in those Towns also; Had I seen more of their Towns, I had met with more of her Temples; for so of many I have heard, that if there be more than two Churches in a Town, one shall be sure to be dedicated to her, and that one of the faireſt. Of any Temples consecrated to the Name and memory of our *Saviour*. *Nec gry quidem*, there was not so much as a word stirring; neither could I marvel at it, considering the honours done to her, and those to her *Son*; betwixt which there is so great a disproportion, that you would have imagined that *Mary*, and not *Jesus*, had been our *Saviour*; for one *Pater Noster* the people are enjoyned ten *Ave Maries*: and to recomponce one pilgrimage to *Christs* Sepulchre at *Hierusalem*, you shall hear of two hundred undertaken to our *Lady* of *Loretto*: And whereas in their *Kalendar* they have dedicated onely four *Festivals* to our *Saviour*, which are those of his *birth*, *circumcision*, *resurrection*, and *ascension*, all which the *English Church* also observeth; for the *Virgins* sake they have more than doubled the number. Thus do they solemnize the feast of her *Purification* and *Annunciation*, at the times which we also do: of her *Visitation* of *Elizabeth* in *July*; of her *Dedication* and *Assumption* in *August*, of her *Nativity* in *September*, of her *Presentation* in *November*, and of her *Conception* in the womb of her Mother in *December*.

ember. To her have they appropriated set forms of prayers prescribed in the two books, called one *Officium*, and the other *Rosarium beatæ Mariæ Virginis*: whereas her *Son* must be contented with those Orisons which are in the *Common Mass Book*: her *Shrines* and *Images* are more glorious and magnificent, then those of her *Son*, and in her *Chappel* are more Vows paid, than before the *Crucifix*. But I cannot blame the *Vulgar*, when the great Masters of their souls are thus also besotted. The *Officium* before mentioned, published by the Command of *Pius* the fifth, saith thus of her: *Gaude Maria Virgo, tu sola omnes hæreses intermisti in universo mundo.* *Catherinus* in the *Council* of *Trent*, calleth *Fidelissimam Dei socium*: and he was modest, if compared with others. In one of their *Councils Christs* name is quite forgotten, and the name of our *Lady* put in the place of it, for thus it beginneth: *Authoritate Dei Patris, & beatæ Virginis, & omnium Sanctorum*, &c. but most horrible is that of one of their Writers (I am loath to say it was *Bernard*) *Beata Virgo monstra te esse Matrem, jube filium*: which *Harding* in his confutation of the *Apologie*, endeavouring to make good, would needs have it to be only an excess of mind, or a spiritual sport and dalliance: but from all such *sports* and *dalliances*; *good Lord deliver us.*

Leaving our *Lady*, let us go see her *Church*, which questionless is one of the most glorious piles of building under the Heavens; what *Velleius* saith of *Augustus*, that he was *homo qui omnibus omnium gentium viris indutus erat caliginem*, or what

Suetonius

Suetonius spake of *Titus*, when he called him *Deliæ humani generis*, both these attributes and more too, may I most fitly fasten on this magnificent structure. The whole body of it is of most curious and polished stones, every where born up by buttresses of excellent composure, that they seem to add more of beauty to it than of strength: the *Quire* of it is, as in great Churches commonly it is, of a fairer fabrick than the body, thick set with dainty pillars, and most of them reaching unto the top of it, in the fashion of an *Arch*. I am not well able to judge, whether the Quire of the *Chappel* of *King Henry* the seventh at *Westminster* be the more exquisite piece of *Architecture*, though I am not ignorant, that *Leland* calleth that of our *King*, *Miraculum Orbis*. I perswade my self, that a most discerning eye could find out but little difference between them, and that difference more subtil than sound: For if such perfections may receive the word of more, it might be said, that there were more majesty in this of *Amiens*, and more loveliness in that of *Westminster*; yet so, that the ones majesty did exceed in loveliness, and the others loveliness excelled in majesty.

Tam bene conveniunt & in unâ sede morantur
Majestas & Amor ——

But now we are come unto the divinity of work, manship, the *Front*; which presenteth it self unto us with two Towers, and three Gates, that in the middle being the principal: the *Fronts* of *Wells* or *Peterborough*, which we so much fame in *England*,

deserve not to be named in the same *Myriad* of years with this of *Amiens*: For here have you almost all the sacred Stories engraven so lively, that you would no longer think this story of *Pigmalions* image to be a fable; and indeed at the first sight you would confidently beleive, that the *Histories* there represented were not carved but acted: To say no more of it (for all my abilities will but disgrace it) in the description: that of *Zeuxis* may most fitly be inscribed upon it: *Invisurum facilius aliquem, quam imitaturum:* so infinitely is it above the ambition of imitation.

The outside of the *Church* being so admirable you would have thought that Art and treasure had left nothing of themselves to bestow within it, yet herein would such thoughts deceive you: *Nostre Dame* in *Paris* and *Rouen* lay most without; yet here it serveth but as a mask to hide and conceal those more admirable graces which are within. As soon as you are entred, you will suppose that the materials of it are all of gold, such a lustre doth it cast upon the eyes of all those that look upon it: the glory of *Solomons* Temple next unto the description of it in the *Scriptures*, is best read in this *Church*; of which it seemeth to have been the pattern. *Jupiters house* in Heaven, described by the *Poets*, was never half so gorgeous as this on the earth, that therefore which *Ovid* poetically spake concerning that imagery Palace of the false *God*, we most truly verifie of this real Mansion of the true *God*.

Hic

Hic locus est, quem si verbis audacia detur
Hauditionem Magni dixisse Palatia Regis.

To instance in particulars, the partition between the *Quire* and the body is so overlaid with gold, that the acutest sight could apprehend no other substance of it, and yet had the art of the workman so fully expresst its power on it; that the cost was much inferiour to the workmanship; so curiously was it adorned with excellent imagery, and what else the hand of man could fashion into portraiture. On the top of it was the *Statua* of our *Lady*, in the just height and proportion of a woman, all either of gold or gilded, her Child in her arms of the same making.

She was there expresst, as standing in a round circle, unto every part of which she darted out rayes and beams of gold, just as the *Sun* doth seem to do, when the *Painter* hath drawn him in his full lustre. The glass of the *Church* generally, and particularly that about the *Quire*, the *Virgins* Chappel is the most full of life and beauty of any that I ever set eye upon: As much as that of *St. Denis* exceedeth ours at *Canterbury*, so much doth this *St. Denis*. But the largest measure of perfection in it is that of the pillars; which though full of majesty in their height and compass, have yet an ornament added to them more majestical than that majesty, for upon each of them (there are four ranks of them in all) are fastened four tables, which take up their whole circuit, every table being in length two yards or thereabouts: In every of these are the pictures of sundry men and wo-

men of the better quality, ſo exactly limned, that neither a curious eye could deſire, or a cunning hand diſcharge it better. Theſe tables are the monuments and tombs of the *Burgers* of the *City*, or of the *Nobles* of the *Country* nigh unto it, who in them have cauſed their pictures to be drawn, with as great art and ſtate as coſt could procure them, and in a ſubſcription of golden letters have eternized their names, and that art to all ſucceeding poſterity. So that we may juſtly ſay of the ſumptuouſneſs of this *Church*, what the *Hiſtorian* doth of the *Temple* at *Delphos*. *Multa igitur ibi, & opulenta regum populorumque viſuntur munera, quæque magnificentia ſui reddentium vota gratam voluntatem manifeſtant.* Neither have theſe ſepulchral ornaments been of any great ſtanding; the ancienteſt of them that I could obſerve, having been erected ſince the year 1570. Add to theſe the curious works which the Engraver hath cut in the main wals, and then perhaps you will fall into the ſame extaſie that I did, and pick a quarrel with Nature and the Heavens, that they had not made you all into an eye.

In this *Church*, as in others alſo of this party, beſides the high *Altar* in the midſt of the *Quire*, there are divers others in the private *Cloſſets*, which are deſtinate to the mumbling of their low *Maſſes*: of theſe here are in number twenty four, all of them ſeated within the two outermoſt ranks of pillars and the wals pretty neat places, and it is pitty they ſhould be abuſed to ſuch *Idolatries*. Of three of them I took ſpecial notice, they being indeed the cheifeſt of the reſt, either for furniture or for

uſe.

uſe. The firſt of them is that of the *Virgin*, which was divided from the *Weſt* of the *Church* by a ſphere made of wood, which reached unto the top of the partition. On the outſide, the Planets, Starrs and Conſtellations were moſt artificially ſet down in their proper Orbes, with the time of abſolving their ſeveral courſes: On the inſide thoſe places were filled up with a pack of verſes in commendation of our *Lady*. The Alter there was for matter and making the moſt glorious that ever I yet looked upon: that on the other ſide in the *Quire*, and over which is the image of our *Saviour*, being more deſpicable than were fit for the credit of a Village. Over this *Altar* was the *Virgins Statua*, all gilt, and of a full and womanly proportion: two *Angels* of the ſame materials attending on her: Finally, this *Chappel*, conſidering the richneſs and glory of it, may be ſtiled the *Epitome* of the *Church*: that attribute of *immenſæ opulentiæ templum*, being no more deſervedly appliable to *Solomons Temple*, of which *Tacitus* ſpake it, than to this.

The ſecond of them ſtood, as I remember, at the further end of the *Church* behind the *Quire*, not directed, for ought I could perceive, to any particular *Saint*: yet not to be paſſed over without a due remembrance: It was ſeparated from the reſt of the *Church* by two ranks of braſs pillars, one rank above the other. The pillars are curiouſly caſt, and ſuch as would not ſhame the workman. In the *maſſing Cloſſet* over the *Altar* there was hanged a tablet, which by the many lines and ſhadows drawn in it, ſeemed to repreſent ſome piece

of building. Moving my hand towards my eye, in the nature and kind of a perſpective-glaſs, I perceived to be the repreſentation of that *Church* wherein I ſtood to ſee it, and it was done with that cunning, that it would almoſt have perſwaded a man out of himſelf, and made him beleive, that he had been in the *Church-yard*; ſo perfectly did it ſhew the majeſty of the *Front*, the beauty of the *Iles*, the number of the *pillars*, and the glory of the *Quire*; a kind of work in my opinion of all others the moſt excellent; and ſuch as would infinitely ſetlight an *Optick*: Had not ſuch peices been vulgar to me; it had more affected me: But in the gallery of *Mr. Crane* of *Cambridge*, once belonging to that *humorous Phyſitian Mr. Butler*, and in that of *Sir Noel Caron* late *Leiger* for the *States* at *Lambeth*, I had ſeen divers of them, whereof ſome perfecter.

The third of theſe *Maſſing Cloſſets* was that of *St. Peter*, not ſo gorgeous as the reſt unto the eyes of them that ſaw it, but more uſeful to the ſoules of thoſe who had a mind to take the benefit of it, for therein hung an *Indulgence* granted by *Pope Gregory* the fifteenth unto that *Church*, dated the twenty ſeventh of *July*, *Anno Dom.* 1612. and of his *Popedom* the twentieth. The contents of it were, an abſolute exemption from the pains and place of *Purgatory*, to thoſe, who upon the Feaſt of *All-Soules* (*Feſtum commemorationis Sanctorum* the *Breif* calleth it) and the *Octaves* of it, would come to pay their devotions and moneys in that Temple. Had the extent of it been general, it would quickly have emptied the *Popes* treaſury.

and

and in time to have put an end to *Purgatory*. His *Holineſs* therefore did wiſely reſtrain it in his *Bull* to the natives of that *Dioceſs*. The author and firſt founder of thoſe *Indulgences* (if it be lawful to note ſo much by the way) was *Pope Urban* the ſecond, who began his *Popedom*, *Anno* 1088. who conferred them on all ſuch who would go into the warrs for the recovering of *Hieruſalem*. Next they began to be conferred on thoſe who would ſide with the *Pope* in his unlawful warrs againſt the *Emperours*. And laſtly, about the time of *Clement* the fifth (he began his raign, *Anno* 1306.) they began to grow merchantable, for to him that gainful invention of the *Church* treaſury, conſiſting of the merits of our *Saviour* and the *Saints*, is imputed: but I return again to the *Church* of *Amiens*.

This glorious *Church* is the ſeat of a *Biſhop*, who acknowledgeth for his *Metropolitan* the *Archbiſhop* of *Rhemes*, *Primate* of all *France*: the firſt *Biſhop* of it was one *Firmamus* a native of *Pampelune* in the Kingdom of *Navarre*, who ſuffered *Martyrdom* under the *Emperor Diocleſian*: to him ſucceeded another *Firminus*, to whom the firſt foundation of this *Church* is attributed: the preſent *Dioceſan* is named *Franciſcus Faber*, his *intrado* about ſix thouſand Crowns a year: *Chanoins* there are in the *Church* to the number of forty, of whoſe revenue I could not learn any thing. Neither could I be ſo happy as to ſee the Head of *St. John Baptiſt*, which is ſaid to be here entire: though it cannot be denied, that a peice of it is in the holy *Chappel* of *Paris*;

besides those fractions of it which are in other places.

Chap. IV.

Our journey down the Some, *and Company. The Town and Castle of* Pigingi *for what famous*: Comminees *censure of the* English *on matter of Propheoies. A Farewell to the Church of* Amiens: *The Town and Castle of* Pont d' Armie Abbeville, *how seated, and the Garrison there: No Governour in it but the Mayor. The* French *Post-horses, how base and tired: My preferment to the Trunk-horse: the House of* Philip de Comminees; *The Town an strength of* Monstreville: *The importance of these three* Towns *to the* French *border, &c.*

Upon the thirtieth we took boat to go down to *Abbeville* by the River of *Some*, a River of no great breadth, but deep and full: the boat that carried us, was much of the making of those Lighters that live upon the *Thames*, but that it was more weildy and fit for speed; there were in it of us in all to the number of thirty persons or thereabouts; people of all conditions, and such with whom a man of any humour might have found

found a companion, under the tilt we eſpied a bearie of *Laſſes*, mixt with ſome young Gentlemen. To them we applied our ſelves, and they taking a delight to hear our broken *French*, made much of our company, for in that little time of our abode there we had learned onely ſo much of the *French*, as a little Child after a years practiſe hath of his *Mothers* tongue: *Linguæ dimidiata ad huc verba tentantibus & loquelâ ipſo affectantis linguæ fragmine dulciori.* The Gentlewomen, next thoſe of *Orleans*, were the handſomeſt that I had ſeen in *France*; very pleaſant and affable: one of them being ſhe that put my Religion to the touchſtone of kiſſing the croſs of her *beads*: Thus aſſociated we paſſed merrily down the ſtream, though ſlowly; the delight which our language gave the company, and the content which their liberal humanity afforded to us, beguiling the tediouſneſs of the way.

The firſt thing which we met with obſervable, was the Town and *Caſtle* of *Pignigni*: The Town poor and beggerly; and ſo unlikely to have named the *Province*, as *Mercator* would have it: beſides the diſproportion, and diſſimilitude of their names. The *Caſtle* ſcituate on the top of the Hill, is now a place of more pleaſure, than ſtrength, as having command over an open and good Country, which lyeth below it; it belongeth as we have ſaid, to the *Vidimate* of *Amiens*, and ſo doth the Town alſo. This Town is famous among the *French*, for a tradition and a truth. The tradition is of a famous defeate given to the *Engliſh* neer unto it; but in whoſe raigne, and under

whoſe

whose conduct, they could not tell us; being thus routed they fled to this Town, into which their enemies followed with them, intending to put them all to the sword: but at last their furie being allayed, they proposed that mercy unto them, which those of *Gilead* did unto those of *Ephraim* in the *Scriptures*: life and liberty being promised to all them that could pronounce this word *Pignigni*: it seemeth it was not a word in those daies possible for an *English* mouth, for the *English* saying all of them *Pegnenie*, instead of *Pignigni*, were all of them put to the sword: thus farre the tradition. The truth of story by which this Town is famous in the writers of both Nations, is an enterviewe there given between our *Edward* the fourth, and their *Lewis* the eleventh, upon the concluding of their nine years truce; a circumstance of no great moment in it self, had not *Phillip de Comminees* made it such by one of his own observations. Upon this meeting the *Chancellor* of *England*, being *Bishop* of *Ely*, made an oration to both *Kings*; beginning with a prophesie, which said that in this place of *Pignigni*, an honourable peace should be concluded between both the *Kingdomes*. On this ground, which himself also is the onely man that related, he hath built two observations: the one (I have not the original by me) that the *English* men are never unfurnished with *Propheſies*: the other that they ground every thing which they speak upon *Propheſies*: How far those times were guilty of that humor I cannot say; though sure I am, we are not the onely men that were so affected: *Paulus*

Ius Jovius in some place of his *Histories* (I remember not the particular) hath vindicated that quarrel for us, and fastned the same imitation upon the *French*. So true is that of the *Fragadian*, *Quod quisque fecit, patitur*; *authorem scelus Reperit*: And now being past *Pignigni*, I have lost the sight of the Church of *Amiens*.

The fairest fabrick, and most rich to see,
That ever was guilty of mortalitie,
No present structure like it: nor can Fame
In all its bead-rolles boast an equal name:
Let then the barbarous Egyptians cease
So to extol their huge Pyramides,
Let them grow silent of their Pharus, and
Conceale the other triumphs of their Land.
And let the Chorians henceforth leave to raise
Their Mausolea with such endless praise:
This Church alone doth them as much excell
As they the lowest Cottages; where dwell
The basest of men; as they those urnes: which keep
The smallest ashes which are laid to sleep.
Nor be thou vext, thou glorious Queen of night;
Nor let a cloud of darkness mask thy light:
That renown'd Temple, which the Greeks did call,
The Worlds seventh wonder; and the fair'st of all
That Pile; so famous that the World did see
Two onely great and high; thy Fame and Thee;
It neither burnt nor perisht: Ephesus
Survives the follies of Herostratus,
Onely thy name in Europe to advance,
It was transported to the Realm of France:
And here it stands, not robb'd of any grace

Which

Which there it had; not altered save in place,
Cast thy Beams on it: and t'will soon be prond,
Thy Temple was not ruin'd, but remov'd:
Nor are thy Rights so chang'd, but thou'lt averre,
Ibis Christian is thy old Idolater.
But oh great God, how long shall thy Decree
permit this Temple to Idolatrie:
How long shall they profane this Church and make
Those sacred Walls and Pavements to partake
Of their loud sins: and here that doctrine teach
'Gainst which the very stones do seem to preach;
Reduce them Lord unto thee: make them see
How ill this building and their Rites agree;
Or make them know, though they be still the same,
This House was purpos'd onely to thy Name.

The next place of note which the water conveyed us to, was the Town and Castle of *Pont d' Armie*, a place now scarce visible in the ruines: and belonging to one *Mr. Queran*: it took name, (as they said) from a Bridge here built for the transportation of an *Armie*; but this I cannot justifie: Three Leagues down the River is the Town of *Abbeville*, a Town conveniently seated on the *Some*, which runneth through it. It is of greater circuit within the walls, than the Citie of *Amiens*, and hath four parish Churches more in it, but is not so beautifull nor so populous: for the houses here are of an older stamp: and there is within the Town no scarcity of wast ground: I went round about the walls, and observed the thinnes of the houses, and the largeness of the fields; which are of that capacity, and extent,

extent, that for ought I could apprehend, the Town needs never to be compelled by famine, if those fields were husbanded to the best advantages: the walls are of earth within and stone without: of an unequal bredth and in some places ruinous: A *Castle* it once had, of which there is now scarce any thing remaining; instead of which and in places more convenient, they have built out three bastions very large, and capacious; and such which well manned, needs not yeeld upon a summons. There are also a couple of *Mounts* raised nigh unto the Wall at that place, where the Country is most plain; upon which good Ordinance would have good command, but at this time there were none upon it: without the walls it is diversly strengthened, having in some places a deep ditch without water; in some a shallower ditch, but well filled with the benefit of the benefit of the *River*: the others only a marish, and fennie levell, more dangerous to the enemie and service to the Town, than either of the rest; and therefore never guarded by the Souldiers of the Garrison: but the chief strength of it is five Companies of *Swisses*, 100. men in a Company, proper tall fellowes in appearance, and such as one would imagine fit for the service: It was my chance to see them begin their watch; to which employment they advanced with so good order and such shew of stomack, as if they had not gone to guard a Town, but possess one. Their watch was at *Port de Boys*, and *Port St. Valery*: the first thing near unto *Hesden* a *frontier* Town of *Artoys*: the other five Leagues only from the Sea

and

and Haven of *St. Valery*: from these places most danger was feared, and therefore there kept most of their Souldiers, and all their Ordinance. The *Captain* is named *Mr. Aille a Grison* by birth, and reported for a good Souldier; besides him they have no Military Commander: the *Mayor* of the Town, contrary to the common nature of Towns of warre, being there in highest authority: A priviledge granted unto the *Mayors* hereof not long since, as a reward due to one of their Integrities, who understanding that the *Governour* of the Town held intelligence with the *Arch Duke*; apprehended him, and sent him to the Court where he receceived his punishment. This *Abbeville* (and so I leave it, and in it the berry of *French Lasses*) is so called, *quasi Abbatis Villa*, as formerly belonging to some *Abbot*.

July the last we took post-horse for *Boulogne*, if at least we may call those *Post-horses* which we rode on: As lean they were as *Envie* is in the *Poet*: *Macies in corpora tota*, being most true of them. Neither were they onely lean enough to have their ribs numbred, but the very spur-gals had made such casements through their skins, that it had been no greater difficulty to have surveyed their entrails. A strange kind of Cattel in mine opinion, and such as had neither flesh on their bones, nor skin on their flesh, nor hair on their skin. Sure I am, they were not so lusty as the *Horses* of the *Sun* in *Ovid*: neither could we say of them, *flammiferis implent hinnitibus auras*: All the neighing we could hear from the proudest of them, was onely an old dry cough, which Ile assure you did much

much comfort me, for by that noise I first learned there was life in them. Upon such *Anatomies* of Horses, or to speak more properly, upon such several heaps of bones were I and my company mounted, and when we expected, however they seemed outwardly, to see somewhat of the post in them, my beast began to move after an *Aldermans pace*, or like *Envie* in *Ovid*:

Surgit humi pigre, passuq; incedat inerti.

Out of this gravity no perswasion could work them; the dull jades being grown insensible of the spur; and to hearten them with wands would in short time have distressed the Country. Now was the Cart of *Diepe* thought a speedy conveyance, and those that had the happiness of a Waggon were esteemed too blessed, yea, though it came with the hazard of the old woman and the wenches. If good nature, or a sight of their journeys ever did chance to put any of them into a pace like a gallop, we were sure to have them tire in the middle way, and so the remainder of the Stage was to be measured with our own feet: being weary of this trade, I made bold to dismount the *Postilion*, and ascended the *Trunk-Horse*, where I sate in such magnificent posture, that the best Carrier in *Paris* might have envied my felicity: behind me I had a good large Trunk, and a portmantue, before me a bundle of Cloaks, and a parcel of Books. Sure I was, that if my stirrups could poize me equally on both sides, that I could not likely fall backwards nor forwards. Thus preferred

I encouraged my Companions, who cast many an envious eye upon my prosperity: and certainly there was not any of them, who might not more justly have said of me, *Tu as un meilleur temps que le pape*, then poor *Lauarillo*'s Master did, when he allowed him an Onion for four dayes. This circumstance I confess might have well been omitted, had I not great example for it. *Philip de Comminee's* in the midst of his grave and serious relation of the battel of *Mont l'hierrie*, hath a note much about this nature, which gave me encouragement, which is, that himself had an *old Horse half tired* (and this was just my case) who by chance thrust his head into a pail of Wine, and drunk it off, which made him lustier and friskier that day than ever before, but in that his Horse had better luck than I had.

On the right hand of us, and almost in the middle way betwixt *Abbeville* and *Boulogne*, we left the Town of *Monstreville*, which we had not leasure to see. It seemed daintily seated for command and resistance; as being built upon the top and declivity of an hill, it is well strengthened with *Bastions* & ramparts on the outside, & hath within a Garrison of five Companies of Souldiers: their *Governour* (as I learned of one of the *Paisants*) being called *Lennoy*: And indeed it concerneth the *King of France* to look well to his Town of *Monstreville*, as being a border Town within two miles of *Artoys*; and especially considering, that the taking of it would cut off all entercourse between the Countreys of *Boulogne* and *Calais* with the rest of *France*. Of the like importance also

are the Towns of *Abbeville* and *Amiens*; and that the *French Kings* are not ignorant of: Insomuch that those two onely, together with that of *St. Quintin*, being put into the hands of *Philip Duke* of *Burgundy*, to draw him from the party of the *English*, were redeemed again by *Lewis* the eleventh for 450000 Crowns, an infinite sum of money, according to the standard of those times, and yet it seemeth the *King* of *France* had no bad bargain of it; for upon an hope onely of regaining those Towns, *Charls Earl of Charoloys*, Son to *Duke Philip*, undertook that warr against *King Lewis*, by which at the last he lost his life, and hazarded his estate.

CHAP. V.

The Country of Boulonnois, *and Town of* Boulogne, *by whom enfranchised: The present of salt butter.* Boulogne *divided into two Towns. Procession in the low Town to divert the Plague. The forms of it. Processions of the Letany, by whom brought into the Church. The high Town garrisoned: The old man of* Boulogne: *The neglect of the* English *in leaving open the Havens. The fraternity* de la charite, *and inconvenience of it. The costly journey of* Henry *the eigth to* Boulogne. *Sir* Walter Raleighs

cenſure of that Prince condemned: the diſcourteſie of Charls *the fifth towards our* Edward *the ſixth. The defence of the Houſe of* Burgundy *how chargeable to the Kings of* England: Boulogne *re-yeilded.*

WE are now come to the *Country* of *Boulonnois*, which though a part of *Picardy*, diſdaineth yet to be ſo counted; but will be reckoned a *County* of it ſelf: It comprehendeth in it the Towns of *Boulogne*, *Eſcapes* and *Neuf-Chaſtel*, beſides divers Villages, and conſiſteth much of hils and valleys, much after the nature of *England*; the ſoyl being indifferent fruitful of corn, and yeilding more glaſs than any other part of *France* (which we ſaw) for the quantity. Neither is it onely a County of it ſelf, but it is in a manner alſo a free County; it being holden immediately of the *Virgin Mary*; who is, no queſtion, a very gracious *Land-Lady*: For when *King Lewis* the eleventh, after the deceaſe of *Charles of Burgundy*, had taken in *Boulogne*, *Anno* 1477. As new *Lord* of the Town (thus *John de Sierries* relateth it) he did homage without ſword or ſpurs, bareheaded, and on his knee before the *Virgin Mary*, offering unto her image an heart of *Maſſie gold*, weighing two thouſand Crowns; he added alſo this, that he and his ſucceſſors after him being *Kings* ſhould hold the *County* of *Boulogne* of the ſame Virgin, and do homage unto her image in the great *Church* of the higher Town dedicated to her name, giving for every change of a *Vaſſal* an heart

heart of pure gold of the same weight. Since that time the *Boulonnois* being the Tennants of our *Lady*, have enjoyed a perpetual exemption from many of those tributes and taxes under which the rest of *France* are miserably afflicted. Amongst others they have been always freed from the gabel of Salt, by reason whereof, and by the goodness of their pastures, they have there the best Butter in all the *Kingdom*, I say, partly by reason of their Salt, because having it at a low rate they do liberally season all their Butter with it; whereas they which do buy their Salt at the *Kings* price cannot afford it any of that dear commodity: Upon this ground, it is the custom of these of *Boulonnois* to send unto their Freinds of *France* and *Paris* a barrel of Butter seasoned according to their fashion; a present no less ordinary and acceptable, than Turkeys, Capons, and the like are from our Country Gentlemen to those of *London*.

As for the Town of *Boulogne* it is divided into two parts, *la haute Ville*, and *la Basse Ville*, or the *High Town*, and the *Low Town*, distant one from the other about an hundred paces and upwards. The high Town is seated upon the top of an hill; the low Town upon the declivity of it and towards the Haven: Or else we may divide it into two other parts, *Viz.* the Town and the *City*; the Town that towards the water, and the *City* that which lieth above it. It was made a *City* in the reign of *Henry* the second, *Anno* 1553. at which time the *City* of *Terrenne* was totally ruined by the *Imperials*, and the *Bishop* was removed hither. The

Church of *Noſtre Dame* being made the Cathedral: there came along hither upon the remove of the *Biſhop* 20. *Chanoins*, which number is here ſtill retained; their revenues being about a 1000. *Liures* yearly: as for the preſent *Biſhop*, his name is *Pierre de Arme*, his intrado twenty thouſand *Liures*: His *Metropolitan* he of *Rhemes*: The Town or (as they call it) the low Town is bigger than the *City*, and better built, the ſtreets larger, and the people richer, moſt of the Merchants living in it, becauſe it lieth above the Haven: but that which made this low Town moſt pleaſing, was a ſolemn proceſſion that paſſed through the ſtreets of it, intended to paciſie *Gods* anger, and divert the plague, which at that time was in the *City*.

In the firſt front there was carried the *Croſs*, and after that the holy and ſanctified Banner; next unto it followed all the *Prieſts* of the Town bareheaded, and in their Surplices, ſinging as they went the ſervices deſtinate to that occaſion: after them followed the Men, and after them the Women of the Town by two and two, it being ſo ordered by the *Roman Rituall*, *Ut Laici a Clericis, feminæ a viris ſeparatæ proſequantur*. On the other ſide of the ſtreet went the Brethren *de la Charite*, every one of them holding in his hand a little triangular Banner, or a Pennon: after them the Boys and Wenches: in this method did the ſolemnity meaſure every lane and angle of the Town, the *Prieſts* ſinging, and all the people anſwering them in the ſame note. At the *Church* they began it in prayer, and having viſite dall the Town, they returned again

again thither to end it with the same devotion. An action very grave and solemn, and such as I could very well allow of, were it not onely for one prayer, which is alwayes said at the time of this performance, and addition of the Banners: The prayer is this; *Exaudi nos Deus salutaris noster, & intercedente beatâ & gloriosa Dei genetrice Mariâ semper Virgine, & Sebastiano beato Martyre tuo* (this *Sebastian* is their *Æsculapius*, or *Tutelary Saint* against the sickness) *& omnibus Sanctis populum tuum ab iracundiæ tuæ terroribus libera, & misericordiæ tuæ fac largitate securum. Amen.* This onely excepted, there is nothing in the whole *Liturgy* of it, which can be offensive to any conscience not idle scrupulous.

These *Processions* were first instituted by *Pope Stephanus* the second, who began his *Popedom Anno* 752. the intent of them is, as *Platina* reporteth, *Ad placandam Dei iram.* The first place that they ever went to in *Procession*, was the *Church* of our *Lady* in the Shambles, or *ad Sanctam Dei genitricem ad præsepe*, as the *Historia* calleth them. As for the *Letany*, which is a principal part of it, it was first compiled by *Mamercus Bishop of Vienna* in *Daulphine*, in the time of *Pope Leo* the first, which was 308. years after the time of *Stephanus*. The motive of it was the often danger to which *France* was subject by reason of the frequency of Earthquakes: Since those beginnings, which were fair and commendable, the *Romish Church* hath added much to them of magnificence, and somewhat of impiety and prophaneness. As for the Brethren *de la Charite*, I could not learn any thing of their

original, but much of their office: for they are bound to visit all such as are infected with the Plague, to minister unto them all things necessary, and if they die, to shrowd them and carry them to their graves. These duties they perform very willingly, being possessed with this fancy, that they are priviledged from contagion by vertue of their Order; and to say the truth, they are most of them old, and so less subject to it; and indeed such sapless, thin, and unbodied fellows, that one would think almost no disease could catch them: yet hath their prerogative not alwayes held to them: Of thirty three of them in *Callice* three onely surviving the disease about four years since: But were the danger to which themselves are liable all the inconvenience of it, I should not much disallow it. There is a greater mischeif waiting upon it, and that is the infecting of others; they immediately after their return from the *Pest-house* mixing themselves with any of their neighbours: A most speedy meanes to spread the pestilence, where it is once begun, though neither they nor the people will be perswaded unto it.

The *City* or the high Town standeth, as we have said, on the top of the hill, environed with deep ditches, a strong wall, and closed with a treble gate, and two draw-bridges: a little small Town it is, not much above a flights shoot thwart where it is widest; and hath in it but one *Church* besides that of *Nostre Dame*, which is the Cathedral: the streets not many, and those narrow, unless it be in the market place; where the *Corpus du Guard* is kept. What the outworks are, or whether it hath

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any or no I cannot say; Even in this time of League and peace, their jealousie will not permit an *English man* to walk their wall, either within the Town or without. A Castle they said, that it hath; but such a one as seemeth more for a dwelling than a fort. The Garrison of this Town consisteth of five Companies, sixty in a Company, which amount in all to 300. their *Goveenour* being *Mr. de Anmont* sonne to the *Marshal de Anmont*, who so faithfully adhered to *Henry* the fourth in the beginning of his troubles; the cause why this Town being so small is so strongly Garrison'd is the safe keeping of the Haven which is under it; and the command of the passage from the Haven up into the Country: The first of these services it can hardly perform without much injury to the low Town which standeth between them; but for the ready discharge of the last it is daintily seated, for though to spare the low Town, they should permit an enemie to land; yet as soon as he is in his march up into the higher Country, their Ordinance will tear him to pieces: But for the immediate security of the Haven, their Ancestors did use to fortifie the old Town standing on the top of the hill, called *La Tower de Ordre*; it is said to have been built by *Julius Cæsar*, at the time of his second expedition into *Brittaine*; this Haven being then *Portus Gessorianus*. This Tower which we now see, seemeth to be but the remainder of a greater work; and by the height and scituation of it, one would guesse it to have been the *Key* or watch Tower unto the rest; it is built of rude and vulgar stone, but strongly cemented together;

the figure of it is six square, every square of it being nine paces in length: A compass to little for a Fortress; and therefore it is long since it was put to that use: it now serving onely as a *Sea* mark by day and a *Pharos* by night. *Ubi accensæ noctu faces navigantium cursum dirigunt.* The *English men* call it the *Old man of Boulogne*: and not improperly; for it hath all the signes of age upon it. The Sea hath by undermining it, taken from it all the earth, about two squares of the bottom of it, the stones begin to drop out from the top; and upon the rising of the wind, you would think it were troubled with the Palsie: in a word two hard winters, seconded with a violent tempest, maketh it rubbish: what therefore is wanting of present strength to the Haven in this ruine of a Tower, the wisdom of this age hath made good in a Garrison. And here me thinks I might justly accuse the impolitick thrift of our former *Kings* of *England*, in not laying out some money upon the strength and safety of our Haven Townes; not one of them (*Portsmouth* onely excepted) being Garrison'd: true it is, that *Henry* the eighth did erect *Block-Houses* in many of them: but what Bibles they are, and how unable to resist a *Fleet* royally appointed is known to every one: I know indeed we were sufficiently Garrison'd by our *Navie*; could it either keep a watch on all particular places, or had it not sometimes occasion to be absent: I hope our *Kings* are not of *Darius* mind in the storie, *qui gloriosus ratus est hostem repellere, quam non admittere*: neither will I take upon me to give counsell; onely I could wish that

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we were not inferiour to our neighbours in the greatneſs of our care; ſince we are equal to the beſt of them in the goodneſs of our *Country*.

This Town of *Boulogne* and the *Country* about it was taken by *Henry* the eighth of *England*, *Anno* 1545. himſelf being in perſon at the ſiege, a very coſtly and chargeable victory. The whole liſt of his Forces did amount to 44000. foot, and 3000. horſe: Field Pieces he drew after him above a hundred, beſides thoſe of ſmaller making, and for the conveyance of their Ordinance, baggage, and other proviſion, there were tranſported into the Continent above 25000. Horſes. True it is that his deſignes had a further aim, had not *Charles* the *Emperour*, with whom he was to join, left the field, and made peace without him. So that judging onely by the ſucceſs of the expedition, we cannot but ſay that the winning of *Bonlonnois* was a dear purchaſe; and indeed in this one particular *Sr. Walter Raleigh* in the preface to his moſt excellent Hiſtory ſaith not amiſs of him, namely, that in his vain and fruitleſs expeditions abroad, he conſumed more treaſure, than all the reſt of our victorious Kings before him did in their ſeveral Conqueſts: The other part of his cenſure of that *Prince*, I know not well what to think of, as meerly compoſed of gall and bitterneſs: Onely I cannot but much marvail that a man of his wiſdom, being raiſed from almoſt nothing by the *Daughter*, could be ſo ſeverely invective againſt the *Father*: certainly a moſt charitable judge cannot but condemn him of want of true affection and duty to his *Queen*: ſeeing that

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it is (as his late Majesty hath excellently noted in his ΒΑΕΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ) a thing monstrous to see a man love the Child and hate the Parents: And therefore he may earnestly enjoyn his Son *Henry*, to *repress the insolencie of such, as under pretence to take a vice in the person, seek craftily to stain the Race.*

Presently after this taking *Boulogne*, the French again endeavoured the regaining of it, even during the life of the *Conquerour*; but he was strong enough to keep his gettings: After his death the *English* being engaged in a warr against the *Scots*, and *Kit* having raised a rebellion in *Norfolk*, they began again the reconquest of it, and that more violently than ever. Upon news of their preparations, an *Ambassage* was dispatched to *Charles* the fifth to desire succours of him; and to lay before him the infancy and several necessity of the young *King*, who was then about the age of ten years. This desire when the *Emperour* had refused to hearken to, they besought him, that he would at the least be pleased to take into his hands and keeping the Town of *Boulogne*, and that for no longer time, than until *King Edward* could make an end of the troubles of his Subjects at home. An easie request; yet did he not onely deny to satisfie the *King* in this, except he would restore the *Catholike Religion*, but he also expressly commanded, that neither any of his men or munition should go to the assistance of the *English*. An ingratitude for which I cannot find a fitting *Epithite*, considering what fast friends the *Kings of England* have alwayes been to the united *Houses* of *Burgundy*

and

and *Austria*; what moneys they have helped them with, and what sundry warrs they have made for them, both in *Belgium* to maintain their authority, and in *France* to augment their potency: from the marriage of *Maximilian* of the Family of *Austria* with the *Lady Mary* of *Burgundie*, which happened in the year 1478. unto the death of *Henry* the eighth, which fell in the year 1548. are just seventy years, in which time onely it is thought by men of knowledge and experience, that it cost the *Kings* of *England* at the least six millions of pounds in the meer quarrels and defence of the *Princes* of those Houses. An expense which might seem to have earned a greater requital than that now demanded. Upon this denial of the unkindful *Emperour*, a *Treaty* followed between *England* and *France*: The effect of it was, that *Boulogne* and all the Country of it should be restored to the *French*, by paying to the *English* at two dayes of payment 800000. Crowns. Other Articles there were, but this the principal; and so the fortune of young *Edward* was like that of *Julius Cæsar* towards his end: *Dum clementiam, quam præstiterant, expectant, incauti ab ingratis occupati sunt.*

The

The CONCLUSION.

A Generall censure of France, *and the* French. *A gratulation to* England. *The end of our journey.*

ON *wednesday* the third of *August*, having stayed in *Bonlogne* three dayes for wind and company, and not daring to venture on *Calice*, by reason of the sickness there raging, we took ship for *England*: the day fair, and the wind fitly serving us, we were quickly got out of the harbour into the main. And so I take my leave of *France*, a *Country* which I know not whether it be more happy in it self, or more unhappy in its Inhabitants. This I am almost confident of, that the worst of its commodities are the people; who by no vertue of theirs, which my understanding is yet guilty of, deserve to grow there: *France* then being in their possession, is like a delicate choice dish of meat disgraced in the cooking: Or to give you my verdict of them both, both Men and Country; modestly, and in a word, I think you never saw *a fair Lady worse marred*, and indeed to speak the truth ——

But

But soft; What white is that which I espie,
Which with its lustre doth eclipse mine eye?
That which doth Neptunes *fury so disdain,*
And beats the billow back into the main?
It is some dreadful Scylla *fast' ned there,*
To shake the Sayler into prayer and fear:
Or it's some Island floating on the Wave,
Of which in Writers we the stories have:
'Tis England; *hah! 'tis so: clap, clap your hands,*
That the full noise may strike the nigh'ring lands
Into a Palsey: Doth not that lov'd name
Move you to extasie? Oh were the same
As dear to you as me; that very word
Would make you dance and caper over board.
Dull Shipmen, how they move not, how their hoof
Grows to the plank: yet stay, here's sport enough:
For see the Sea Nimphs foot it, and the fish
Leap their high measures, equal to my wish
Triton *doth sound his shell; and to delight me,*
Old Nereus *hobbleth with his* Amphitrite.
Excellent triumphs! but (curs'd Fates) the Main
Quickly divides, and takes them in again:
And left me dying; till I came to land
And kist my dearest Mother in her sand.

Hail happy England! *hail thou sweetest Ile,*
Within whose bounds no Pagan *rites defile*
The purer Faith; Christ *is by* Saints *not mated;*
And he alone is worshipp'd that created.
In thee the lab'ring man enjoys his wealth;
Not subject to the Lords rape; or the stealth
Of hungry Publicans: In thee thy King
Fears not the power of any underling,

Or

Or petty Prince; but by his awful word
Commands not more the Beggar than the Lord.

In thee those heav'nly beauties lie, would make
Most of the Gods turn Mortals for their sake:
Such as out-go report, and make Fame see,
They stand above her bigg'st Hyperbole:
And yet to strangers will not grude the bliss
Of salutation and an harmless kiss.
Hail then sweet England! *May I breath my last*
In thy lov'd arms: and when my dayes are past,
And to the silence of the grave I must,
All I desire is, Thou would'st keep my Dust.

And now I am safely come into my *Country*, where, according to the custom of the *Ancients*, I offer up my thanksgiving to the *God* of the Waters, and testifie before his *Altars* the grateful acknowledgement of a safe voyage, and a prosperous return: Blessings which I never merited.

——— Me tabula sacer
Votiva paries indicat uvida
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta inariis Deo.

FINIS.

March 11. 1655.

This Book is Entred
J. BURROUGHS

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